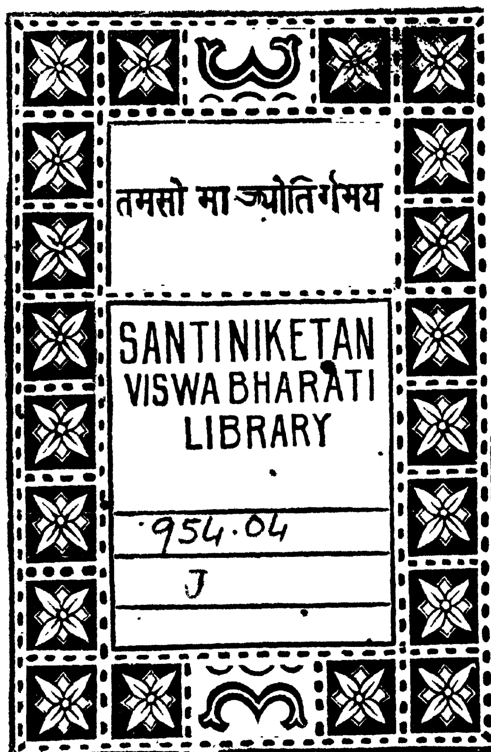

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WAKE UP PRINCES.

BY

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Second Edition.

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To

THE INDIAN PRINCES

AND TO

ENGLISHMEN AND INDIANS

WHO TAKE REAL INTEREST IN THE

PROGRESS OF INDIA

AND THE

GREAT BRITISH EMPIRE.

CONTENTS.

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PART SECOND.

The Problem.

"He who would rightly appreciate the worth of personal independence as an element of happiness, should consider the value he himself puts upon it as an ingredient of his own. There is no subject on which there is not a great habitual difference of judgment between a man judging for himself and the same man judging for other people. When he hears others complaining that they are not allowed freedom of action, that their own will has not sufficient influence in the regulation of their affairs, his inclination is to ask, what are their grievances? What positive damage they sustain? And in what respect they consider their affairs to be managed? And if they fail to make out an answer to these questions, what appears to him a sufficient case, he turns a deaf ear, and regards their complaint as the fanciful querulousness of people whom nothing reasonable would satisfy. But he has quite a different standard of judgment when he is deciding for himself. Then the most unexceptional administration of his interests by a tutor

set over him does not satisfy his feeling; his personal exclusion from the deciding authority appears itself the greatest grievance of all, rendering it superfluous even to enter into the question of mismanagement. It is the same case with nations. What citizen of a free country would listen to any offers of good and skilful administration in return for the abdication of freedom? Even if he could believe that good and skilful administration can exist among a people ruled by a will not their own, would not the consciousness of destiny under their own moral responsibility be a compensation to his feelings for great rudeness and imperfection in the details of Public affairs?"

"It is a striking fact, that the satisfaction and mortification of personal pride, though all in all to most men when the case is their own, have less allowance made for them in the case of other people, and are less listened to as a ground or justification of conduct than any other natural human feeling; perhaps because men compliment them in their own case with the names of so many other qualities, that they are seldom conscious in their own lives."

J. S. Mill.—The Subjection of Women.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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In presenting the picture of the position of the Indian States in the economy of British administration, of what it was and what it is now, my object mainly is that the English and Indian public should have a clear idea of it.

So far as I know, no attempt has yet been made by an Indian to deal with the question from the point of view of the Indian States.

If Englishmen have written books on this fascinating and interesting subject, and of which some are considered even as standard works, they have treated the subject more from the point of view of the position of the Indian States as it now stands bred of the introduction of the system of "Subsidiary Alliance" and autocratic powers exercised by men on the spot—Political Officers accredited to the Courts of Indian States to watch, guide and advise their rulers in the peaceful task of administration of their States.

If the system has succeeded admirably in producing complete subjugation of the Indian Princes which was the ideal behind the Subsidiary Alliance System, it has equally completely failed in giving satisfaction to the Princes and making them contented and strong bulwarks of the British Empire.

As the civilian bureaucratic administration has failed to satisfy the rising aspirations of the people living in British India, so has also the political administration of the Indian States failed to satisfy the aspirations of the Indian Princes.

This deplorable condition naturally arrests the attention of all thinking men who have the real interest of India at heart and of the British Empire of which she forms no insignificant part. Without India, it can truly and without exaggeration be said that, there can be no British Empire. The word Empire will only be a mockery.

Is it not very sad that such a condition of discontent has arisen when numberless Englishmen—Civilians as well as Military Officers—should have selflessly worked over a century in British India and in the Indian States for the good of the people ?

A little consideration, however, will show that this disheartening result is only an outcome of the disregard to study the nature of man.

The inherent peculiarity of man is that he likes to struggle for existence on his own initiative and abhors the limitations imposed on him.

If, at one time in the initial stage of British connection, guidance was considered a necessity for his progress and healthy growth, it created a sense of revolt in him when it was long continued or prolonged.

The guidance, it is admitted on all hands, even in the Joint Report of Reforms, has continued rather

too long and if manifestations of discontent are noticed throughout the length and breadth of the vast continent of India, it is but a natural outcome of the unnatural conditions of administration imposed on British India and the Indian States.

His Majesty the King Emperor, when he visited India as the Prince of Wales, noticed this unnatural system of administration in India. To his unerring and keen eye it was so glaring that at the first opportunity he raised a clarion note that what India wanted was sympathy and more sympathy to make her happy and contented and the fitting diadem of the Great British Empire.

What His Majesty meant by sympathy was not merely the occasional use of soothing expressions to satisfy the vanity of an emotional oriental people: He freely gave out as his considered opinion that the Indian administration should be so broad-based that its acts should creep into the hearts of the people, evoke a thrill of patriotism in them for the endurance of the Great British Empire, and engender loyalty to the person of the King Emperor. He asked the Viceroy and the hierarchy of officials working under him to so run the administration as would create a faith in the people for the principles of British justice and fair-play, allow them that freedom of action which can generate hope and give them such ample latitude as should encourage them to take the fullest benefit of the opportunities offered to better their life according to their abilities and thus create a unity of interest in the mind of every one, be he a prince or a peasant.

An attempt is made in the following pages on the one hand to show how the change in the attitude of mind of the people has been brought about from one of gratitude for the British connection to that of hopelessness due to the wrong ideals of Government, inspite of the fact that all consider that the progress of India is possible only under the ægis of the enduring British connection with India, and on the other hand how it is possible to attain happiness, contentment and progress of the millions who live in India by following religiously the rediscovered truth of equality of opportunities and freedom for all, leading to "Productivism" for the progress and civilisation of mankind and for the glory of the British Empire on which the sun never sets.

KHASHERAO JADHAVA.

P. S.—When I read the speech of General Smuts delivered when he received an address at Durban from the Indian residents in South Africa and also the speech of the right Hon'ble Lloyd George on the termination of the recent Railway strike in England, I was very much struck with the note of far-reaching importance contained in them.

The General's speech showed what is to be the position of the Indians in South Africa in the constitution of that country and the Prime Minister's speech revealed what it is that every worker should look for in the economy of the Empire. I thought it was high time that the Indian Princes should also get their position settled in the constitution of the Great British Empire and the Indian Empire in particular. It is not that the question of their position in the Empire has not already arrested the

attention of the Princes. In fact some of them thought it would soon come up for consideration. Greater is the pity it has not yet come up.

The question being of vital importance to the Indian States I thought it might not be unreasonable to place before the Princes some material which may form the basis for its consideration.

I had to dictate my ideas as fast as I possibly could. Fortunately there was some material already at my hand when I read the speeches above alluded to. I was then laid up with rather a bad attack of influenza. The time for the coming Conference of the Princes was fast approaching. I write this personal note just to point out that I have not been able to deal with the question as fully and carefully as I should have liked. Yet I wrote this not to miss the occasion.

I have also not been able to attend to the proof sheets. There was no idea to get the following pages printed. It was decided on the 25th October after coming to Delhi to hand over the typed material for printing. It is creditable to the printer (Delhi Printing Works) to have pushed through the work speedily and so well.

I beseech my readers to overlook the faults due to want of time both in stringing the ideas together and in putting them in print.

I shall be glad and thankful to receive criticism and suggestions from my readers which will be helpful in bringing out the next edition in a more complete form.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

——: o :——

The first edition was prepared in a hurry and also printed in a hurry to be ready for distribution at the last Princes' Conference. It necessarily manifested all the defects of being written in a hurry. It was primarily meant for the Princes at the Conference and it served its purpose.

There is a demand for the book from numerous quarters and it is necessary to meet it. It is as much necessary for the Princes to know what their position is in relation to the British Government, as for their subjects and the general public to learn under what disadvantages the Indian States have to labour. At present the work of the Sessions of the Conference is carried out in secrecy. Except the speeches of the Viceroy and the formal thanks-giving speeches of the Princes the public knows nothing about the actual work transacted in the Council Chamber at Delhi.

It is true that the Princes' Conference has mostly to deal with questions affecting their States. Have not the subjects of the Princes any interest in these questions? The Princes talk of the community of interest between themselves and their people. How can the interest of the latter in the work done during the deliberations be maintained if they are kept at

arm's length? Till the last year, officials of the States were allowed the privilege of sitting as spectators during the informal meetings of the Princes. Even that privilege is now withdrawn. We need not go into the history of this. It however shows that the Princes are unwilling to take their people and their officials in confidence. There may be reasons for so doing. But this is not the proper way of safeguarding their interests. If the States have so far suffered in their position and status, one of the reasons is that under the Subsidiary-Alliance System the Princes were not only isolated from their brother Princes, but also from their subjects and their leading Sardars. The latter were made innocuous by being deprived of their influence with their rulers and the British bayonet was made to serve the object of keeping the subjects in a helpless condition as well as their Rulers.

In the scheme of Reconstruction, co-operation is the bed-rock of progress and it cannot be secured by the Princes working single handed. This is a truism which should be obvious. The King Emperor in his speech at the opening of the Parliament (on 10th February) laid stress on the facts that, if lasting progress and social peace were to be ensured, all classes must continue to throw themselves into the work of reconstruction with goodwill for others and with energy and patience.

My main object in issuing the edition is to educate public opinion to the point of view of the Indian States as I understand it. The task I have undertaken is out of my love for the States and as an

expression of my gratitude to the Princes. I should like as many people to take interest in the problems of the Indian States as possible. In Mysore a People's Assembly is already formed, the main object of which is to co-operate with the State and to assist it in its administration. It is not unlikely that such Assemblies may not be encouraged: perhaps a positive bar may be put in their way of progress. More is the reason, therefore, that public opinion should be educated and people living in the Indian States should understand the limitations of the States and make their proposals accordingly. I consider the people would do disservice to the States if they did not take care to put forward their considered opinion. I should like them clearly to understand that the Princes are bound down to their Treaties and Engagements and they are directly responsible to carry out the terms imposed upon them. Again I should like them to bear in mind that we should try not to have the same institutions in the Indian States as are supposed to be working satisfactorily in the West. The West is undergoing a reconstruction and we will do well not to be in a hurry. In whatever form an administration is carried out autocracy in one sense or other is its predominating feature. It should be our interest, therefore, to see whether the beneficent autocracy of ancient India may not be really to our advantage.

The East is known for its imagination. It is the East which has been the cradle of religions of the world. Christ was an oriental and has given religion to the West. It was Beaconsfield who urged the

Great Queen Victoria to assume the title of Empress of India. And strange as it may appear it is Montagu who has been instrumental in giving the last Indian Reform Act. Will not the people of India now rise and give a really good form of administration for India through the Indian States and thus set an example to the West ?

The competitive system on which the material civilisation of the West is based has failed and failed very badly. It has brought ruin in all directions and the world is staggared at the appalling misery that is brought in its train. Our ancient ideal is not based on the competition element. Its fundamental truth lies in love for all. Its basis, therefore, is in cooperation and when rightly understood it should consist in the highest good of the whole community.

If the small volume that I am sending out on its mission succeeeds in rousing interest among my countrymen and responsible Englishmen I shall consider my labours well repaid. I had to work at it at no small disadvantage for want of sufficient leisure at my disposal. My official duties don't allow me leisure and I had at times to sit up burning not the mid-night oil but electric light.

In the present volume the old chapters are kept up as they were with necessary corrections. With the assistance of my friend Mr. K. G. Deshpande, B. A., Bar-at-law, my task in this respect was much lightened. To him I take this opportunity to acknowledge my grateful thanks. My friend Mr. D. N. Apte, B. A. LL. B., also of Baroda, gave me no small assistance in correcting the Mss. of the first edition and

also this time. But for his assistance the first edition perhaps would not have been out in time. I take this opportunity to tender him also my best thanks.

To this volume a few new chapters are added to make the treatment of the subject more complete. The book is divided into two parts—A Perspective and the Problem.

The first part deals mostly with the situation as it now exists. It deals with the Political status of the Indian States, its origin and development, and shows how slowly but surely the Princes have fallen from their high pedestal of international position to the subservient position of a helpless Ally. The two new chapters added in this part are Psychology of Indian Princes and the King and his Indian Allies. In the latter which is kept along with the original chapter on the Paramount Power and the Indian States, the system of intervention and non-intervention is examined with a long extract from Metcalfe's writings. A careful perusal of the extract will clearly show that if the Indian rulers failed in the past to do their duty there was great reason for it. They were not allowed to act. They were simply paralysed or anaesthetised.

In the second part there are three new chapters added. Each one of them is important. The first is on Education. It gives an idea as to how our Princes should be educated to fit them to perform the responsible duties of administration. Their education, as carried out now, with the best of intentions it may be acknowledged, is faulty in the extreme.

It in itself forms a problem—in which not only the rulers but their subjects are as much or more interested. We want our rulers to be men of culture and good administrators capable of thinking for themselves and to carry their people on the onward march of progress. As is the King so are his subjects—is an old trite saying. Our interest in our rulers' education therefore must be of predominating importance to us and we can't be too careful about it.

The two other chapters are—Forebodings about the Chamber of Princes and a Scheme for the Chamber of Princes that is to be inaugurated at the hands of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The time is not yet when a Conference of the Princes should be converted into a constitutional Chamber. Our objection is that no measure of reform should be introduced which has not the sanction of the unanimity of opinion among the Princes. The more important Princes are decidedly against this Chamber. What is the value of such a Chamber when all the Princes do not join it nor acclaim it as a boon? Anything done by our Royalty must be accepted as a boon with a joyous and grateful heart. The Chamber is looked upon with suspicion and the Princes being helpless do not speak out openly and boldly.

If the views as put forward by me commend themselves to the public my earnest entreaty to them is they shall not fail in urging the Government to introduce such reforms in their relations with the Indian States as are urgently wanted and not to impose an extraneous constitution in the Chamber

which is not based on the genius of the people and their traditions.

May the book by the grace of God work out its Destiny.

KHASHERAO JADHAVA.

BARODA,
12tkFeb.uary 1920.

INTRODUCTORY.

॥ श्रीः ॥

शौर्यं तेजो धृतिर्दाक्ष्यं युद्धे चाप्यपलायनम् ।
दानमीश्वरभावश्च क्षात्रं कर्म स्वभावजम् ॥ १ ॥

श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता अ० १६. श्लो० ४३ ।

Prowess, splendour, firmness, dexterity, and also not flying from battle, generosity, the nature of a ruler, are the Kshattriya duty, born of his own nature.

We are passing through stirring human upheavals. The great changes in the ideals of human societies that have been brought about by the recent titanic world-struggle cannot but arrest the attention of all thinking men.

After the close of the War, the word " Reconstruction " is reverberating throughout the world, and causing men to take a retrospective view of the situation.

The great Conference of the Indian Princes to assemble this October 1919 naturally inspires one to feel and take stock of its work in the last three sessions, and try to find out its co-relations to the great world-forces, pulsating in the veins of the various nations which are now struggling to bring about

a more just and equanimous world-life, as the result of the present upheaval. While England, one of these premier nations, is settling down on the path of progress, the news of the machinations of Germany in Russia is fast filtering through, causing anxiety for the peaceful progress of the world.

Throughout India there is also an upheaval in thought, which is affecting not only the educated classes, but even the masses, as is seen by the various deputations sent by them to England to lay their grievances and demands before the joint committee of Reforms, and in the recent unfortunate riots in the Punjab and Gujerat.

When we look to the lessons of history, we unmistakably find, that the present upheaval in the world is nothing more than an expression of the resultants of world-forces. India being a part of the great British Empire, which is a great economic world-force, cannot remain unaffected, unswayed, and unmoved, in the present revolution of human ideals.

At such a time, when people in British India are agitating for their future destinies, it is but natural that Indian India or the Indian States, should also wake up to the situation. If British Government is encouraging the Indian Princes to take their just part in the 'Reconstruction' of India as a whole, it shows once more the wisdom of the statesmen of the British Empire. The real progress of India is not possible unless the Indian Princes also move along the path of progress with the prescience of events to come. The Conference of Indian Princes was ushered

in by the British statesmanship, and it is fortunate, that amongst the princes were found men to co-operate with British officials.

It is my intention to take a brief and rapid review of what has been accomplished during the last three sessions of the Princes' Conference, and to place before the Princes and the public my impressions and views with an object to find out whether in the great work that has been undertaken by the Viceroy and his advisers we are really progressing on proper and scientific lines. The review will necessarily be very short.

It may look presumptuous that a man in my humble position should dare to offer criticism and suggestions on an important subject where greater and wiser men may pause. It is however not uncommon to get at times a correct appreciation from the gallery of the drama that is being acted on the floor.

Having spent the best part of my life for the last three decades in the service of an Indian State in a fairly responsible position, I have had opportunities to come in contact with many of the Princes. Their aspirations and ambitions, and also the disabilities under which they live and carry on the task of administration of their States, could not but make themselves strongly impressed upon me. If under such circumstances I offer my opinion, it cannot be thought that I am either over-ambitious or presumptuous. My attempt is an expression of gratitude for all the favours I have received from various Princes so long.

When I view the proceedings of the first two sessions of the Princes' Conference which I witnessed, and consider the proceedings of the last year's sessions and the agenda of the meeting to come this year (1919) I must confess, I am not a little struck to find—if I may say so—that the movement seems to be becoming soul-less. It has picturesqueness all its own, but is wanting in life. It manifests a want of adaptation to the moving circumstances and is also lacking in appreciation of the world-forces that are causing an upheaval in the evolution of ideals.

It must be remembered that man is not only a political animal though Aristotle gives this as his main characteristic. He is something more than that. He is swayed by passions and affected by environments. Is there a scope in the present movement for his full and harmonious development? Does the movement take note of the conditions essential for the proper fructification of the ideal of "Reconstruction"? Are we taking note of the laws of the science of Biology which is the basis of all social movements and are we also taking note of the world-forces which seem never to have been so active as they are at present?

It may be noted as a great lesson from the history of the past, that no great movement is dependent for its success or failure on the work of one nation alone. It is always the action and interaction of various human groups that produce any definite result. It is only due to an isolated consideration of individual nations that unexpected results seem to have followed. Do not we see this at every step in our experience if

we have eyes to see ? And why need we go far to realise this truth ? It is reflected in the lessons of the war if we but come to think dispassionately.

The resultant effect of the War has once more shown the similarity of the sequences and co-existences of great revolutions in the past. Where two warring nations have crossed swords, either one of them has succeeded or a third nation has been benefited in a remarkable manner. Think of the fall of the Emperors of Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Czar of Russia. See how America whose entry was the least expected came in and imagine only with what towering strength England has emerged out of this world-struggle for supremacy. It has been the experience that each great movement originally started with a certain ideal has in the end lost all connection with it. Let us throw back our eyes to the period of "Reformation". Though ostensibly it was a religious movement, what was its result ? It brought in its train a redistribution of territory in Europe and Asia. It created new kingdoms and demolished old ones. It improved the economic condition of some and ruined that of others. The same has been the result of the present War. Those who aimed at supremacy in the world have disappeared from the scene. If the struggle was to free the world from militarism, it has ended in setting up the ideal of individualism, the right of every individual to live his own life and establish the principle of equal opportunities for all. It has thrown overboard the old economic principle of demand and supply which crushed the life-blood of the working masses; and

has opened a Utopia of freedom not only to exist bu to live, which was barred to them all these ages.

If such has been the outcome viz. freedom for every one to live his own life according to his abilities and opportunities for the glory of his nation and for the good of human society as a whole, will it be right on the part of the Princes not to take advantage of the present glorious opportunity to improve their condition, to make themselves strong, and be the real partners in the British Empire, the ideal of which is freedom based on the past traditions of fair-play and justice ?

India has been brought in contact with England by the Will of Providence for the good of both. India cannot get on without England. This should be self-evident to every thinking man. Happily it is an acknowledged fact. Similarly, England cannot get on without India. The very word 'Empire' would be a mockery without India. If, as I have said, it is the Providential connection which has thrown India and England together for the glory of both, is it not the duty of every thinking Indian and more specially of every Prince to take the fullest advantage of the alliance of the two peoples ? India has its past, it ought to be proud of its old civilisation. Her ideal is the same but her ideas have become decadent, disabling her from attaining her proper place in the comity of nations. Can she remain silent in splendid isolation? If she does not come forward to take her proper position in the drama of the world, would she not prove herself faithless to her own traditions and also to the trust reposed in her by British statesmen as shown by their attempts to

invite the Indian sage from his contemplative isolation for the good of mankind ? She has entered the Versailles Palace Council Chamber along with the statesmen and diplomats of the Allies where the future of the world was being decreed. Has the Maharaja of Bikaner, the great ruler-statesman and sportsman worked in vain for months together, away from his people and his State ? Has he not played his part in a truly sportsmanlike spirit for the good of the Princes, for the good of the Empire ? And for what purpose ?

Are not the Indian Princes—the custodians of the welfare of one-third of the British Indian Empire—to have faith in their glorious destiny which is inviting them to throw away their shyness and apathy and come forward once more as true Kshattriyas to play their part in the economy and glorification of the great British Empire on which the sun never sets ?

They ought to wake up, girdle up their loins, work in co-operation with a bold selflessness in the discharge of their duty as preached by the Great Lord Shri Krishna in His gospel of action. Let it not be said by the future historians that they failed to act their part in the great drama that is being played on the world-stage. Let it be remembered that the world-forces are gravitating slowly but surely from the middle Europe to the East—to our very Back Door. If they want to survive, they ought to stand up as heroes along with their British co-partners and play their music in their own way The great ancestors of the Indian Princes have immortalised their names by their glorious deeds. Will not their descendants follow suit ? May God assist them in this task !

CHAPTER I.

Political Status of the Indian States : Its Origin and Development.

(*a*)—Origin of Relations.

In order to study the history of an institution it is necessary to know its past and present. Then alone it is possible to know what its future can be. This study has to be made in the same manner as in the case of a scientific problem. There we have first to study facts to establish principles and then again descend to facts in order to find out the correctness or otherwise of the principles enunciated.

Let us briefly look into the facts—what the position of the Indian States was when they came in contact with the Hon. East India Company and how that position in short now stands. A celebrated writer has described it as follows:—

From Governors of mercantile British factories to Governors of territories teeming with civilised and industrious population—this expression sums up the rise and growth of the British Power in India.

From Independent Powers enjoying equality of status among themselves and superiority of position with regard to the Governors of British mercantile factories, to the position of Allies of equal status by

Treaties, Engagements and Conventions with the British East Indian Company ; from the position of Allies with the international status to that of States in subordinate alliance with no international relations, that is to say, from political and international equality to subordination and dependence ; this in a way might sum up the history of the Indian States.

How this catastrophic change in the position of the Indian States was brought about is a question which is sure to arise. The answer is by no means difficult to give—by a simple but ingenious device of the adoption of the system of "Subsidiary alliances." What was the significance of this alliance ? I would quote but only a couple of extracts from a Blue Book of the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into Indian affairs in 1832. Mr. James Mill said "the system of subsidiary alliances would lead to making the Princes all Rajas of Tanjore with palaces to live in and liberal pensions both for comfort and dignity assigned them."

Again, in answer to a question put to him Mr. Henry Russel, Resident at Hyderabad, gave his opinion as follows:—

"One of the most striking effects—perhaps the most striking of all—which a close connection with us upon the subsidiary system produced upon the Native State that have embraced it, is the condition of premature decrepitude into which it inevitably hurries them. Every faculty that is valuable to a State, every organ that contributes to its wholesome existence, seems to decay under our alliance. From the moment that we engaged to protect a foreign Prince he ceases to have any inducement

to maintain himself. The habit of going upon crutches deprives him of the use of his limbs. By taking away the occasion we take away in the end all power of exertion."

These extracts clearly establish the results which the Subsidiary Alliance system inevitably produced. No comment is required to show what the ideal of those times was of the Hon. East India Company. It is fortunate that there is some life still left in the Princes and for this they should be thankful to British statesmen and the Englishman's love for fair-play and justice.

With this background it should not be difficult for the Princes to imagine that the constant reiteration that their Rights, Prerogatives, Treaties, Engagements, Izzat, etc. should be preserved and maintained has but little meaning. There is the form but the substance has long since disappeared. There is no reason however for them to be hopeless, if they would but dare to think and act. The Imperial Government has clearly seen that the Princes can yet be assigned a sphere of usefulness in the scheme of British Administration. The Princes have only to show that they can usefully fit in with the scheme.

(*b*)—Significance of Subsidiary Alliances.

The full significance of the Subsidiary Alliance system soon began to dawn on the mind of Princes when they began to suffer from the irksomeness of its results. In the beginning the results were too subtle to be easily apprehended without the aid of a scien-

tific imagination. In fact, one by one the Princes like enthusiasts embraced this new political creed only to fall into what seemed a bottomless abyss. They perhaps could not help. The circumstances were too strong for them and even if they had known its significance, for the sake of self-preservation against the attacks of their neighbours, they had to resort to it.

There are many lessons to be learnt from the past, bitter though they be. History teaches that quite a different result is sometimes produced from the action of world-forces from what was aimed at the outset. The system of "Subsidiary Alliance" was introduced with a view to subjugate the Indian Princes to the domination of the East India Company and thus to make the latter the supreme power in India. In the initial stage so long as the world-forces did not act and interact strongly on the system the results produced were as anticipated. Now that the world-forces have begun to operate on the situation of India, signs are not wanting to show that the outlook will be very soon quite different. As in the economic outlook so in the political, the change is imminent. If at one time, the ideal of the dominating Political power was to establish its own supremacy at the expense cf other powers, the ideal now is to take all the subordinate powers along with it and not to crush them. It has taken a long time—more than a century—for this ideal to reach the present form. Compte advocated it first in the beginning of the 19th century. Has is not taken an equally long time for economic ideas to modify the relations between

Capital and Labour ? Was it not thought at one time that a poorer India was better for England than a richer one ? Such was the idea of the Manchester School of Economics. What a long time did it take to carry out the idea of Luther of " Reformation " ! Nearly a hundred and fifty years ! As the Peace of Westphalia gave the final touch to the " Reformation " movement, not in accord with the original ideal, so the Peace Treaty at Paris is having its effect in a manner quite different from the expectations when the war was started. We detect uniformities in the sequences and co-existences of social events in these two great movements. History has thus repeated itself once more and shown also the way of Hope for mankind.

Let us analyse the situation and see wherein lies the hope of Indian Princes and India as a whole and see whether we cannot be true to the teachings of history. Let us think of what is taking place in Russia to-day. The Czardom has disappeared in a most tragic and painful manner. There the favoured classes ruled and oppressed the masses. There is always a limit to patience. Even the eel turns. Although the Duma came into existence, the institution was not allowed to succeed and there was the conflict between the vested interests of the classes and those of the masses. With the disappearance of the central figure, chaos ensued and we hear of nothing else but blood-shed, anarchy, ravages, rapine and all those elements which go to the destruction of human society. If German machination succeed, the Germanised Russia will be once

more a danger to the peaceful progress of India. It is this impending danger, not imaginary but real, which will carry India on her onward progress. To fight this danger British Government will have to make India self-sufficient and strong and thus she will revert once more to her former estate. Her weakness in the past which made its British occupation possible will thus be the means of her progress under the *aegis* of British Government. The inscrutable ways of Providence have brought within her easy reach those democratic principles which go for progress, the birth of which was in that great Revolution of 1688, causing the abdication of King James II. Since the great Revolution these principles have been nurtured through stress and strain till they have received the final expression recently, that every one has a right to live well.

Will the Princes learn the lesson and carry out the teaching religiously ? If by their contact with the Mohomedan rule they fell from the high pedestal of the Hindu ideal as expressed in the word Raja and became autocratic, though the creed of the Koran is not autocracy, will they now rise supreme to the occasion for the same reason of their contact with England and become better than what the Hindu philosophy preached and what the word Raja conveyed, and be thus the real partners in the ideals of the British democracy ? It should be remembered that the latter is a heritage of the struggle of selflessness for the last four centuries or more. The spirit of those who struggled for it is calling them. England answers their call, and she has grown stronger

and stronger by adhering to the ideals of democracy and now she is the strongest nation in the world. By non-recognition of the principle, Spain—the Empire on which the sun never sets—has paled into insignificance. The Empire of Louis XIV who used proudly to say "I am the State" disappeared from the scene. Napoleon who tempted the French by conjuring the name of democracy got into power, but lost the kingdom no sooner he threw away the mask, that is when he gave up his allegiance to those principles. Deception would not do. Those days are gone. To succeed, honesty of purpose is wanted. Perhaps many of the so-called reforms in most of the Indian States are but a poor beginning, so long as they have no popular basis and so long as they don't find expression by the establishment of the time—immemorial autonomous Village Panchayats, broadened to suit the modern times into organic connection with the central government. If they serve the object of flowery speeches they do not serve the object of raising the people to a higher stature. It is not possible to reap wheat where bajari is sown ; but where nothing is sown it may be possible to reap a whirlwind. Loyalty of the people of the Indian States will be put to a severe test when their neighbours in British India become more articulate. Some Princes have already begun to complain of want of loyalty on the part of their subjects. Loyalty cannot be commanded. It has to grow like any other organic growth. Its growth is from within and not from without.

(c)—Results of Subsidiary Alliances.

While the system of Subsidiary Alliances was working its way there came the Proclamation of 1858. It was reaffirmed in the Jubilee Year of the Great Queen Victoria. The Queen Empress in reply to the Jubilee Address of congratulation of the Bombay Municipal Corporation said "Allusion is made to the Proclamation issued on the occasion of my assumption of the direct Government of India as the Charter of the Liberties of the Princes and people of India. It has always been and will continue to be my earnest desire, that the principles of that Proclamation should be unswervingly maintained."

This is supposed to be the "Magna Charta" of the Indian States. But on close observation the resemblance will be found to be only superficial. The one was the fruit of the force of circumstances, the other was a free boon from the generous heart of a Queen Mother. The one conferred distinct rights and explicitly recognised existing ones. the other merely enunciated the intention underlying the relations to continue between the Paramount and Subsidiary Powers. The one offered an impetus for its grantees to enforce its fulfilment, the other made the obligees simply look up for its grant. Unless it is utilised as the creed on which to build up the edifice of their status both in relation to the Paramount power as well as their own people, in the same beacon light of justice and generosity, it would avail but little in the practical affairs of life because, inspite of this Proclamation of the Great Queen

Empress Victoria, the subjection under the system drives the Princes to take consolation in the Philosophy of Resignation.

It is lucky in a way that Political officers did not drive the coach of the Alliance in full and reckless speed. It is equally lucky, it may be admitted, that they are not free to drive the coach in the manner they would have liked. They have to take count of the public opinion in England. It is not that the English people in England often take direct interest in the affairs of India. But still there is always a fear of rousing the anger of the Lion. It is on this account that the downward motion of this Alliance has never been continual. It oscillated as the pendulum of a clock. There is another reason why this downward motion was not even. The carrying out of the policy is left within certain limits to the discretion of the Political officers stationed at different Courts of the Princes of varying degree of intelligence and importance.

Whenever there is a little murmer of discontent among the Princes, the policy of relaxation is adopted as a relief. The recent policy of non-interference of Lord Minto is an instance in point. Here again it is left to the discretion of the Political officers.

Human mind being incapable of correct thinking and therefore not capable of calculating the results properly, the pressure of the Alliance is felt by different Princes in varying degrees. It is due to this incapacity of correct thinking, that variations were introduced as the necessity arose, but the main principles of the Policy of bringing home to the

Princes the effects of the Subsidiary Alliance were never lost sight of. If we only think of the armies of Indian States and how they are kept in a magnificent state of inefficiency, and how at times the Princes are sought to be convinced of either the necessity or utility of engaging European officers in the services as Secretaries or Police Officers. it will be easy to perceive that in the Political relations of the States with the British Government, the same process of retrogression is observed as is experienced in the case of inferior Societies which come under European influence. I seem to recollect that Froude the historian wrote in his book "Oceana" that the Maoris were persuaded to own the Great White Queen as their Suzerain and were assured that they would be left untouched in their possessions. And with what results?

First, the Princes were Allies meaning equal partners. The idea of inequality however very soon forced itself on the superior partner. And what was the logical sequence of the change of ideas? Changes in the phraseology took place to give an adequate expression to the changing relationship between the two partners.

As a result of the correct expression demanded by the real situation, from the position of Allies their States came under the suzerainty of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. This found an expression in the Imperial Assemblage of 1877 when the Great Queen was proclaimed the Empress of India and the Queen of England.

A great Frenchman had prophesied that the Princes would become like the English landlords. Luckily the danger is not realised and it may now safely be said that the danger is permanently averted.

Since the Sepoy-revolt or the Indian Mutiny, as it is wrongly called, the policy of the extinction of the Indian States underwent a change. The Princes have received the assurance of continuance of their existence.

(*d*)—Personal Relations of Princes with Political Officers.

There is not much to choose as far as the record of the past reveal and the experiences of the present testify. Even with the assurance of the Great Queen, there does not seem any freedom to have been accorded to the Princes. On the contrary for a long time the same old system of control, supervision and interference in the internal affairs not only did not slacken, but became in no small degree more humiliating and irksome as knowledge increased among the Princes. Interference went to such an extent, that it raised into the minds of intelligent observers the extreme results of the Subsidiary System foretold by an eminent officer that the Alliance " would lead to the making of Princes all Rajas of Tanjore."

Is there any wonder that many of the rulers of these States lost all zest for the work of administration ? They neglected it and left it to their Dewans or Karbharies of various degrees of ability and honesty. They took absolutely no intelligent in

terest in their affairs. Their position was very sad and humiliating. The greater the apathy on their part the more minute and irritating became the interference on the part of the British Political officers.

It is far from my intention to blame Political officers for what they did. They had to carry out the system. They were not free agents. It is the system that is to be blamed. But even there one has to pause. The system was the outcome of the ideals of those times. Happily those ideals are changing and our interest in the past therefore is now more or less historical. Let the past be buried !

(*e*)—The Renaissance.

We have seen that the Princes have been between two extremes—the Allies and I don't know what to name the other extreme. The tangled web of their Political relationship defies solution. Even the best jurist, I think, will fail to define their position as it now stands. Perhaps even the Princes do not know what they are and what they are not. This is their present position. It is unenviable. It is getting worse. It requires to be changed.

What is wanted is a real Indian Renaissance working like all true growth, from within outward, to what ultimate end who shall prophesy ?

The Princes call themselves Allies of the British Government. This is their understanding from the beginning of the Alliance. They have not changed in their attitude. They continue to be as friendly disposed as when they started relations with the

British nation. The British Government, however, has changed in its attitude towards them. Probably it is not responsible. It is as much a victim of the changing conditions as the Princes are victims of the policy bred of those conditions. It is not unaware of the feelings of the Princes. It knows them too well. It also knows the depth of the Princes' sincere feelings for it.

In short it knows the Princes well—their good as well as their bad points. The British Government knows that the Princes are sensitive on some points and indifferent to others. It is fully aware that the Princes take a deep interest in the phrases used in describing their relations with it. It has made the Princes do it.

The very changes in the phraseology from time to time show that British Government take interest in this subject. The subject seems to be of abiding interest to them. The Princes are forced to take interest because they are directly affected. Every new idea of a thinker when accepted by Government has to be given effect to. This means a change in the attitude of Political officers in their conduct towards the Princes. The latter do not know, it is true, the nature of the change in the ideas of Government. They do know the changes in the attitude of their Political officers. This requires no great knowledge. They are the direct victims and the changes are brought home to them in an unmistakable manner. They are helpless. They have to submit. They have submitted to fate, the tussle being unequal. They are said to be slow to accept

any changes or reforms suggested by their Political officers. They cannot know the ulterior object. There was and is the feeling of suspicion at every change big or small.

British Government is highly organised. It lays down a policy. It has great patience as we all know too well. It carries out its policy steadily. It takes advantage of every suitable opportunity to give effect to its policy. The changes are brought about slowly. The Princes are gradually made to get accustomed to the changed conditions. The pressure is slow but steady. The result is certain.

Lord Selbourne in his speech of 29th February 1912 on "Empire" showed that much of India and Africa came voluntarily under the Sovereignty of Great Britain which drew no taxes from the Empire. He added, "We seek to promote the protection of the weak and civilization everywhere, equality and the peace of the world."

This we admit is true, but only to a certain extent. In the consolidation of the Empire, English officers have displayed one of the essential qualities of their race in their readiness to take risk and face consequences—the quality that breeds great mistakes, and by the same process great achievements also.

Great achievements there have been in India of which there is no doubt, and the Princes take every opportunity to confess whole-heartedly that they have been considerably benefitted by those achievements. That they know what they now are, is no

small gain. The general knowledge that has been brought to India by the British connection is remarkable. Along with this there have been great mistakes. It is these mistakes which now require to be corrected.

It is, we admit, easy enough to put our finger on the sore point, but it is by no means so easy to devise the remedy. The Princes have so long tolerated a bad system that vested interests have grown round it and abuses have flourished so that it will need a very determined effort to rectify the situation.

The worst foe the Princes have to fight in this struggle, we must candidly confess, is apparently their own apathy.

History tells us that the building or rebuilding of a nation is not to be accomplished without prolonged, undaunted and unselfish labour and great sacrifice on the part of the best of its subjects.

Princes have yet to learn that over-much self-repression, however heroic, is good neither for themselves nor for the British Government in the more equalised conditions of the material world through which we are passing. Heavy toll is being paid by them for the doubtful privilege of remaining undisturbed in their possessions.

We have said that the relations of Indian States will be difficult for the greatest jurist to define. They may however be described as something unlike anything else. They are the result of the well-known "muddling—through—somehow policy" of British Government. A physical law is the constant

relation which exists between any phenomenon and its cause. So the phenomenon of the Indian States si something—under—somehow policy.

We may observe that the principle of Harmony has to be constantly borne in mind in all departments of knowledge and activities and carried out faithfully.

Without trying to enter further into the development of the past we should briefly state what our ideal is. That ideal is simple—Honourable union with the British Government on the basis of real friendship and alliance. This reform is wanted on the ground of principles rather than that of expediency. The present atmosphere of inferiority must disappear.

Difficulties—nay grievances—of the Princes are many. They require to be ventilated and brought to the notice of the British Government. The authorities cannot know exactly their real difficulties. The wearer of the shoe has to point out where it pinches him. Bearing this position in mind and not leaving anything to the imagination of the authorities, we may have to be frank, perhaps it may be considered too frank. We know it is not that all their grievances can be redressed at once. It does not however follow that the proper setting out of their case should be done with diffidence. It is best to be always optimistic. We have no reason to be pessimistic. Hope is the only lever for action. And we have no reason to think our hopes won't be realised. There is no ground to think that the

British Government is not anxious to better the present situation. But for their anxiety to preserve the Indian States, division of the red and yellow line on the map of India would have long since disappeared. The very presence of this demarcation ought to rouse the Princes to their real position.

It may not be out of place here to point out that if there was a need at one time for British Government to take a paternal interest in the development of the Indian States, that time is long past. The Princes happily are shouldered with responsibilities of the administration of their States. The policy of "leading strings" therefore should give place to one of confidence. Confidence cannot be created without freedom for action. Mistakes there will be, mistakes are a necessary prelude to correct conduct. It is common knowledge that we are governed at every step by economic considerations. It is necessary therefore that we should be in a position to take the fullest advantages of the conditions with which we are surrounded. This makes it necessary that the Princes should have a freer life. Freedom of action within their sphere is the first essential condition for the fullness of life.

We urge it should be believed that there would one day come a closer understanding through sympathy and through love between the Governmen and the Princes.

The Indian States must beat their music out for themselves by degrees as other countries are doing and must have the power to do this as other countries have.

(*f*)—The Era of Faith, Hope and Unity.

We are encouraged in this belief of Renaissance because of the new era His Majesty the King Emperor is anxiously desirous of ushering in the policy of the Indian Empire, *viz.*, of Faith, Hope and Unity.

What is now wanted is that the constitution of the Government should correspond with what is in the mind of the King Emperor. As is the mind so is the form, is a natural law.

It may be said that nothing has been more removed from our mind than the thought of giving offence to anyone. The effects of a heretofore-cause being in themselves the cause of a hereafter-effect, it has made it incumbent on us to take necessarily a brief review of the past. The result of the study of the past, it will be found, is not a delusion, but a real thing ; a jewel as it were only dimmed and covered by the accumulation of bigotry and superstition, yet one which contains within its depth that light of truth which nature's followers delight to know and worship.

We are convinced of the necessity of changing the Constitution of the Government as it affects the Indian States in particular and India as a whole. The change must take place with the progress of time. If a certain policy was required during the period of acquistion of territory and its consolidation the same policy it may be inadvisable to continue when the wave of high Imperialism of a more intelligent kind is passing over the British Empire.

In this connection we may quote with advantage the words of an eminent British officer, Major Evans Bell, who took a far-sighted view of the relations of the British Empire with Indian States in his book "Our Great Vassal Empire" written as long ago as 1870. He says "It will hardly be denied or doubted, that by extraordinary sacrifices and exertions on the part of the more civilized States, life and property rendered secured, commerce protected and contracts enforced. But with the establishment of regular administration, the difficulties of Government are sure to be redoubled. However enlightened and disinterested may have been the original intention, as the term of the guardianship is prolonged, its provocation and temptations, almost of necessity, increase. The thanklessness and burdensome nature of the task on the one side, and the loss and humiliation on the other, become every day more and more apparent and are more and more sensibly felt as the active work of organisation subsides into tranquil management."

" The patient restored to consciousness and strength expects to be relieved from rest...requires exercise and amusement and wishes once more to direct his own affairs in his own way. Grateful at first perhaps to his foreign doctors and nurses, he now resents their control and begins to doubt their motives. Those motives have actually no tendency to improve, they tend rather to deteriorate as the curative process is protracted. If the practice has proved lucrative the physician is averse to lose it; if it has been unprofitable, he requires some compensating advantage."

"We have had some experience of this treatment and of the patient's feelings towards us on a small and unimportant scale, in the Ionian Islands—now happily off our hands, just as their Government, except by military force was becoming impossible."

"On the great continent of India not able or ready or fit to be off our hands but more vitally attached to us than the Ionian Island—too long a course of the same treatment in its most depressing form over an ever widened area has generated the same feelings in the hearts and brains of its vast and various population and threatens to render its Government incalculably more difficult. Divided and difficult as it may be, ignorant and indifferent as it may seem, that vast population is not an inorganic or insensible mass."

"The Political diagnosis has been misunderstood because no distinction has been drawn between her constitution and her daily functions—between Government and Administration."

No comments are necessary. These are the words of a real statesman and philosopher who had the true interest of his native country at heart.

India is passing through a stage of political evolution. The changes being gradual and piecemeal, one is liable to miss the underlying tendencies of what is being done before our eyes, unless we studiously take stock of their significance.

Indians are a spiritual people as distinguished from the Europeans who are swayed by materialism. It is acknowledged on all hands that India's connection with Great Britain is Providential. Emerson

has very correctly observed: "A little consideration of what takes place around us every day must show that a higher law than our will regulates events."

Need it be said that the Providential connection should endure in the interests of both England and India? Indians well understand this no less than far-sighted British statesmen. We cannot stand by ourselves without England, and it may with equal truth be said that England may be nowhere without us. The present world-wide war has fully demonstrated this truth even to the humblest Indian intellect. India will always be the field for European enterprise and coveted acquisition. She will never be left alone and she cannot be left alone. She cannot have a better protector and partner than she has found in England. We have taught England how to rule us and we do not wish to lose the benefit of her experience. This is the real situation and it sums up also the nature of our partnership.

As all changes are gradual, the Alliance of Indian States with the British people has gradually developed into its present condition. The changes though gradual and different in the various States, seem to have followed a definite line of policy. In their variety there is an apparent unity. The variety is due to that "Muddling through some-how policy" of England for which she is so famous. The unity is to be traced to the predominating political and moral character above all things of her central administrative institutions now happily undergoing a change.

The present Indian Empire is, almost like the Roman, of an Imperial type, based on viceregal autocracy and a powerful standing army.

The accredited spirit, the accepted spirit of the day on our part is loyalty. How it should be evoked, engendered is the question of questions before us.

Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu has correctly observed: "A bureaucratic administration is atrophying the nerves of action and, what is most serious. necessarily dwarfing in us all feeling of self-respect."

This is as true of the people Mr. Basu refers to, as of the Rulers of the Indian States and their people.

We have every hope and confidence that "the intolerable degradation of foreign yoke" as put by Mr. Asquith will be made bearable. Great Britain's past struggling for liberty is the guarantee of her present sympathy for us. No adequate efforts were made in the past to build up a healthy man who can do all that a man as a higher being ought to do.

Reforms are therefore necessary in the Indian States to remove the dependence which cripples them and to aid them in becoming free and strong. Need it be said that the sense of power always gives rise to a sense of responsibility? Every restriction is a relic of the old system of thought and exerts a cramping influence on the health and life of the community.

Regional autonomy is favourable to the development of a civic spirit. We have already observed

that the central administrative institutions of former times taken as a whole, had above all things a political and moral character. Nowadays there is to be seen in them a distinct evolution towards economic and material considerations. In this connection it may not be out of place to observe that personal independence is an element of happiness. Consciousness of working our own destiny under our own moral responsibility would be a compensation for the rudeness and imperfection in the details of our public affairs. Indian States therefore want independence in Government and administration. Government, that is, its constitution should be healthy and harmonious. However good an administration, it cannot make up for a bad constitution. Palliative measures would not do. A constitutional change—a reform in the Government—is necessary. Government deteriorates, as has been put by Major Evans Bell to whose work an allusion is already made, and becomes more difficult or impossible, except at the point of the bayonet, when its constitution is not healthy and harmonious.

The result of the present policy of the Government of India towards the Indian States is the loss of the moral authority and influence of the Rulers and their Governments. This result was fully anticipated nearly a hundred years ago. We cannot do better than quote the opinions of eminent British officials of those times connected with the administration of the Honourable the East India Company. These are from the minutes of evidence taken before the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company in the year 1832.

Mr. James Mill said in reply to the question "What is your opinion as to the effect of the subsidiary system upon the well being of the inhabitants of the countries to which it relates ?"

"With respect to its effect on the people of the country my opinion is very unfavourable. The substance of the engagement we make with these Princes is this: We take their military protection upon ourselves and the military power of the States into our own hands. Having taken from them the military powers of Government, that is all the power, we then say to them "We give up to you the whole of the powers of Civil Government." Complaint has been frequently made of the effect of the subsidiary alliances, in subduing the spirit and relaxing the powers of Government of those Native Princes. It appears to me that the subsidiary alliance does not take away the spirit of the Sovereignty by degrees from these Princes; this is taken from them along with Sovereignty at the first step. It does not remain to be done by degrees. We begin by taking the military power, and when we have taken that, we have taken all. The Princes exercise all the power that is left them to exercise, as mere trustees of ours and unfortunately they are bad trustees."

Such is our position. Fortunately the last word of the sentence quoted above has not been realised and this the Government of India knows too well.

The extract quoted above gives a clear insight into the real position of the Indian States as viewed by some important British officials of the Honour-

able East India Company. The general trend of events has more than verified these prophetic views. Mr. James Mill said "I can only repeat my opinion, that the Indian Princes' real condition in respect to us is that of subjugation; they are part of our dominions". It is fortunate that there were men of higher statesmanship like Sir John Malcolm and Sir Mount-Stuart Elphinstone who thought it more prudent to endeavour to retain even the anomolous position of Indian Princes as long as it was possible than to reduce them to the position of the Tanjore Raja.

CHAPTER II.

Psychology of the Indian Princes.

We have noticed later on the injunction of Lord Metcalfe to his Political officers that "instead of seeking (interference), we ought, in justice to ourselves, most studiously to avoid it."

What is our experience? Quite to the contrary. We find that there is not only interference but that it is justified in a most remarkable manner. Tupper says "history is not justification of a policy which is not justifiable on moral grounds. There is the strongest moral justification of the existing system in the character of the Government of our predecessors in India, and the persistence, at the present day, of some tendencies making for misrule."

It really makes us smile when such writings come under our eyes. Has not the British policy made the Princes callous, if not unmindful, of their duties? Even at the risk of repetition, but for the sake of easy reference, we may with advantage quote what Mr. Henry Russel, Resident at Hyderabad said in this connection—of the tendency making for misrule.

"One of the most striking effects—perhaps the most striking of all—which a close connection with us upon the subsidiary system produced upon the Native States that have embraced it, is the condition of premature decrepitude into which it invariably hurries them. Every faculty that is valuable t

a State, every organ that contributes to its wholesome existence seems to decay under our alliance. From the moment we engage to protect a foreign Prince he ceases to have any inducement to maintain himself. The habit of going upon crutches deprives him of the use of his limbs. By taking away the occasion we take away in the end all power of exertion."

How tragic has this policy been in its result! It is rare to get really good Princes and more so to get really good men in Indian States. They simply cannot grow under the political system prevalent in India. Plants grow best under optimum conditions, and the same law is applicable to men also. Natural laws are uniform in their results. There is a unity in variety, otherwise they would not be called natural laws.

How very few people know under what disadvantages the Indian States are placed and yet the best of them are not slow in their condemnation of the Indian Princes and their subjects? We have heard some say that the Princes are no good and they immediately run to the conclusion that the States should be swept away for the general progress of India. They say the States are a drag—dead-weight —and they serve no useful purpose. To them our earnest request is to try to know the affairs of the States first and find out why they are not up to the times.

When we look at the galaxy of Princes of the present time we really wonder that they are so good

after all, and given proper opportunities, to what height they may not rise! When we try to study the history of the past rulers we are dumb-founded at their high ideals. Ideals may differ. They change with times. We have said elsewhere that if it was an ideal for the State at one time to be big at the expense of smaller States, the present ideal bred by the recent great war is, that the State is big in proportion to the liberties allowed to every one of its subjects and scope given for his betterment according to his abilities. Where do we find to-day a ruler like Ahilyabayi who put a तुलसी पत्र (dedication to charity) on 16 crores of rupees for the good of her people which she found in the treasury when she assumed the reigns of Government? If we realise our fall from the spirituality of the East to the materialism of the West we shall have to lower our heads with shame! Have not our Princes shown that they have a scientific imagination and a heroic courage to carry out their ideas? Has not the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda touched the weakest point of India's backwardness in her ignorance and taken a bold step in introducing compulsory primary education in his Raj, even against tremendous opposition? This has made it possible to introduce a similar measure in other administrations. Have not many Indian States emulated this noble example? And can British India lag behind much longer when the one third India of the States is going ahead in this respect? It is in measures like these that the Princes can be a guide for British India. The Princes can think in harmony with the aspirations of their

people. Their interests are identical. If the Princes did not go in for showy reforms which so long marked the British Indian administration, the time is not far distant when the Indian States will also mark their progress in a more substantial manner. We have actually an instance before us now of the junior Dewas State, the ruler of which has quite recently introduced important administrative and constitutional reforms, but of this and similar matters we propose shortly to deal in a separate book.

For the present, let us deal briefly though it be, with the psychology of the Indian Princes, to be able to realise how handicapped they are in doing their duty to themselves and also to their people.

We should not forget what Mr. Russel has said and which we have quoted above. We say our Princes are generally nervous and *difficile*. The politicians of British India and political officers of the Government of India proclaim that they are the least satisfactory students of human affairs. Are they really so, are they not good rulers? We shall have our say presently. But let us analyse further the working of the mind of our Princes. It is a very fascinating subject. We cannot enter into details, but we shall only give a faint outline. When we consider the number and nature of the qualities that go to make a good ruler the wonder is, not that there are so few good rulers but that there is any at all. It is not that there is no good material, but the manner in which that material is moulded is not satisfactory. To begin with, our young Princes should

receive good education. What is the provision for this? The Princes' colleges, so called, are places where they learn nothing of the tradition and history of their country or of their Houses. Some of them do not know even their own mother-tongue well. When the stock is taken of the product, the percentage of failure is pretty disheartening. In fact, one who took deep interest in the education of Princes once remarked to us as his considered opinion—and this gentleman, a brother of a ruling Prince was a Deputy Commissioner and a Cambridge graduate—that no better method could be devised to unfit the present young Princes to discharge their sacred duty than the sort of education imparted at present in the colleges. A little reflection will show that this opinion was not ill-founded.

To begin with, the young Prince must have a religious training and a love for his people and country. At present religious and moral education does not find a place in his training and as regards his love for his people he has no opportunity to know them. He is kept in isolation so that he may not be contaminated by his natural surroundings. Some how he comes to think that the society of his own people is not good and he is encouraged in this belief. His people are 'natives,' good-for-nothing and unworthy of his association.

Thus in the scheme of his education God has no place, and any education which does not take count of the fear of God is, we consider, no education. Man must understand that he is responsible for his acts and that he has to render an account for his

good and bad acts to his Maker. No business can be carried on without the casting of a balance-sheet, and man to be good, must get into the habit of reflecting on his acts at every step. The idea conveyed by the Hindu word Dharma is more comprehensive than the English word religion. Man has to live a godly life throughout his waking moments and not think of God only once a week. Add to this his want of knowledge of his own people. Knowledge breeds love and in the absence of love there can be no sympathy. In the absence of sympathy, begins his real difficulty and in the absence of religious training there is the want of a stabilising influence. Human affairs with which the Princes have to deal are a complex mechanism, dependent for successful working on the stabilising influence of religion and sentimental love. Human affairs, we may say, like nerves and muscles, are affected by every change due to the interplay of forces which are at work. Since the body and the mind are in a constant correlation, every passing mood, every mental change has some effect on the body and hence on the action. The Prince has to accustom himself therefore to deal with forces that are never stable. He may be in a good mood in the morning and in an indifferent mood in the afternoon and evening. He can under such circumstances control himself only by means of constant and intense introspection bred by religious training and love for his people.

It is said of Mahadaji Scindia, who was at one time the virtual dictator at the Gourt of Delhi, that he had always in his hand a rosary to assist him constantly to think of God in his arduous work.

There is but the width of a razor's edge between a good and a bad mood of a Prince ; one second's inattention, one moment's loss of mental control, and his whole career is spoilt. He is held to derision and he is made the butt of all ridicule and also made to go through penance out of all proportion to his supposed lapses.

If the Prince must always be the master of himself. he must mainly depend on his higher reason. How is he to have that reason ? Not merely by reading books but by freedom of action and healthy and inspiring surroundings.

Though the Prince has to work under discouraging circumstances in which his sentiments are not respected, by the very force of those circumstances unexpected developments are taking place in the attitude of his mind. It looks as if the very conditions imposed on the Prince which go to demoralise him are avenging themselves by making him a better man. Adversity is a great school to make a man generous. If it was the tendency at one time on the part of some of our Princes to be callous with regard to the interests of their subjects, the conditions under which they now live have shown them that their safety lies in the good-will of their people and they have clearly seen that no protection can be so strong in times of difficulty as the sympathy of their people. Even if their administration is not carried on the approved British lines, they take care to see that their acts touch the heart of their people. They are by a course of

training learning that their interest and the interest of their people are identical. It is the commonness of feeling and commonness of ideas which make Indian States the break-waters of which Lord Canning spoke so feelingly after the Sepoy Mutiny. We should naturally like such a condition to endure. But mere wishes won't go far enough. With the changing conditions of time, it is necessary that the attitude of the Government of India should change in regard to the upbringing of the Princes in such a manner as to facilitate this result.

If we but were to look into the life history of some of our old Rajas and compare it with those of their descendants, we cannot but admire the strong personality o the former. They, it may be admitted frankly, were lacking in the present day manners and customs but all the same they were quite cordial in their relations with the people who came in contact with them: they were very accessible to their people. Their personality was great and striking.

We know a good deal of three such Maratha Princes, the Maharaja Khanderao of Baroda, the Maharaja Jayajirao of Gwalior and the Maharaja Tukojirao of Indore and a little of the present Maharana of Udaipur. We purposely do not wish to name some of the present Indian Princes for whom we have a high esteem and regard. It is said of the late Tukojirao Maharaj Holker that he knew practically every headman of a village in his Raj and that he took a personal interest in developing the resources of his State. Of the Maharana of Udaipur

it may be said that on account of his strong personal rule there is no scope for intrigue in his State.

How many Princes of the present day can claim to know so much of their Raj as the Maharaja Tukojirao did? We know a few Princes of the present day may lay a claim to know their people and their wants. As said above for obvious reasons we don't wish to name the Princes who are popular. They are an exception and that exception also goes to prove what we mean presently to say, that the present educational system is not suited to bring up our Princes in a proper manner.

The present system is extraneously imposed—no doubt with the best of intentions. It. like the higher educational system based on Macaulay's famous minute, is foreign. It is not the result of the present genius of the people nor the natural product of their spiritual heritage. In fact, one wonders whether it would not have been better not to have had the present system to the displacement of the old Eastern culture. It cannot be said that the old Rajas whose names we have noted were not educated. May be they did not know the English language well but that did not mean that they were not well educated.

We have come across writings of political officers that these old Rajas were not good rulers and their rule was oppressive. We know with what a critical eye these reports were prepared. It is not possible generally for the Englishman in India to think that the Indian can be as good as an Englishman and also

what is not done by an Englishman can be really good. We are not prepared to agree with this sort of view. If there are such reports there are also reports of equally or more eminent men regarding the good administration of old Rajas. If there was a falling off, the reason for it has to be looked for somewhere else. We know by experience what has been the result of following blindly the approved model of the British administration in Indian States. If the English bureaucracy has failed in British India, its imitation has not been more successful in the Indian States. If it has created want of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled there, these signs are not wanting in the Indian States. The same result will be reproduced in them : it is merely a question of time.

We have met many Indian Princes and Chiefs more or less on intimate terms and our experience of thirty years points out that if they were deficient in their education and consequently in their administration the fault is not wholly theirs. They in their official contact imbibe the spirit of bureaucracy which translates itself in their dealings with their people in autocracy and makes them averse to take advice from their people.

The corrective of their people which was present in olden times has been studiously killed out by the resultant action of the system of subsidiary alliance. With it the Princes have also lost the backing or active moral support of their people. It has produced an unhealthy condition resulting, as a natural

sequence, in making them an invertebrate and undefinable body. Naturally, the Princes will be as loathe to part with their power of unlimited autocracy as the British officials perhaps will be under the progressive and responsible Government in British India. Intelligent self-interest will soon show them that it is a wrong and suicidal view.

The times have changed and they are changing pretty fast. We want our Indian States to continue. If at one time the Princes exercised unlimited autocratic powers, under the changed ideals of the people they can only endure with autocratic powers of unlimited beneficence. It will really make them stronger as compared with their present helpless condition. A little retrospection will reveal to them that in this lies their safety and only by so acting can they be real Allies of our King Emperor who is a constitutional Monarch? And this is nothing more than retracing our steps to our ancient traditional ideals of Sovereignty.

We don't think for a long time to come India will be fitted for the Democracy of the West. If care is not taken it is possible that the country may come under the heels of oligarchy in place of bureacracy. The change in that case will be merely in name and perhaps worse.

If the Indian States are to improve we are firmly of opinion that our Princes should receive sounder and better education and that they should not be discouraged in their pursuit for higher knowledge. It looks odd but sometimes facts are stranger than

fiction—that the young sons of princes are not allowed to read books of standard authors, even if they are so inclined, other than those that are prescribed for their college studies.

In a subsequent chapter we shall give a brief outline of how our Princes should be educated. If the present system of higher education in British India requires modification as shown by the Sadler Calcutta University Commission report, surely who can deny that our Princes' education system does not require immediate overhauling ? What we want is that the system should be natural and not foreign with different traditions behind it.

I cannot close this chapter better than by quoting what Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has to say in his 'The Centre of Indian Culture'.

" The conditions of one country are never quite the same as those in another. Britain's Education policy in Ireland may not exactly resemble her policy in India. But there is at least one vital point of similarity in regard to the result. Our mind is not in our studies. In fact, it has been wholly ignored that we have a mind of our own. That is to say, the engineering feat of skill in digging the canal, with its numerous locks and bunds, has been marvellous, and the cost considerable ; only the water refuses to flow through. The engineers condemn the water for its obstreperousness ; we take the side of the water and condemn the engineers. In the meanwhile the great gaping gulf remains arid. Let me say, in a whisper behind the backs of these great engineers, that the

natural drainage of the country has been tampered with and the country is taking its revenge."

Will the Princes take up the question of education of their children more rationally and seriously than they have hithero done ? They should understand that no question can affect them so vitally as this question of education ? They should see that their children are just as well educated as the best of Indians. Have the Princes realised the significance of the system of education followed in the case of our King's children ? They are not isolated but they are thrown promiscuously from young age among the best type of the rising generation.

CHAPTER III.

(*a*)—The Paramount Power and the Indian States.

It may not be uninteresting to point out that the destinies of Indian States have been adversely affected inspite of the good will of the British nation. The officials wanted to remove the distinction of the red and yellow line from the map of India pretty promptly, but they could not do it as will be manifest from the answer given by Mr. James Mill to the question—"Do you conceive that it will facilitate the assumption of the power by its being allowed to continue some time longer"? The candid answer was "I think that the facilitation is more with respect to English feeling and prejudice than to India. There would be very little risk I think in putting all the subsidiary and protected powers in the state of the Raja of Tanjore by judicious means; but I would conceive there would be a great outcry against it in England."

Before the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown there were chances, though not many, of the grievances of the Indian Princes reaching the ears of the English people in England. Since its assumption by the Crown these chances have practically ceased. Major Evans Bell says somewhere that India is not governed by the British Parliament nor is she governed by the British Nation. "Man on the spot theory" is carried to perfection. Let us see what Major Evans Bell has to say on this queer state of thing. "It may be said, it has been said, specially

by the Englishmen engaged in the public service of India that there is all just as it should be—that India ought to be governed in India: that even the control of the Secretary of State and his Council should be nothing more than formal supervision, that Parliamentary dictation is particularly objectionable, that although the British public cannot invest too much capital in the Indian Funds, in Railways and other works of utility, their enquiries and interferences should be strictly limited to the disposal and security of their investments, a field of enquiry sufficiently wide after all, to include all that was excluded and that no irresponsible persons unqualified by local observations and experience ought to meddle with the politics of India."

"It is not by acquiescence in monstrous claims of this description, advanced by professional administrators, that the people of Great Britain can shake off their national responsibility for the defects, if there be any, in the Imperial Rule of India, or gain absolution from the consequences of such defects."

The error that has chiefly led to these claims, and to the frequent acquiescence in them is that of supposing Government and Administration to be identical and convertible terms. Good Administration and good Government are very different things, and by no means necessarily co-existent.

There is no doubt that the bureaucracy in India has developed into a form of Government instead of remaining what it everywhere else is, an approved method of administration. There is no doubt also

that it is a close corporation with powerful vested interests, that it is practically irresponsible, and in it individuals however estimable do not count. The system stands condemned in the eyes of all right thinking men. What is the solution? The Indian bureaucracy of the Political Department as of the Civil requires to be put on the model of the system prevalent in England.

Howard Jenkes, M.A., B.L., Principal and Director of Legal Studies, Law Society, said in describing the system as follows:—

"The administration of England is dominated by the principle that no power can be exercised unless it has been conferred by law, no obligation can be imposed on any citizen except by law, and that if the exercise of discretion has been entrusted to any official or Department of the Central Government this discretion must be exercised strictly according to the rules of law, which law must in the face of the dispute, be interpreted by the ordinary Courts and not by an Administrative Tribunal. This aspect of the rule of law is necessary as every one knows now that much of the work is transferred to the Government Departments."

How very necessary it is to introduce some definite system of procedure in the conduct of work of the Political officers in relation to Indian States hardly requires to be argued. Greater the freedom allowed to the Indian Princes in their internal administration greater will be the ease with which vexation and heartburning will disappear, and Political officers too will find that they are relieved of much of the irksome responsibilities of their duties.

Now the Political officer thinks that he is charged with looking into everything that is going on in the State to which he is accredited.

Rightly or wrongly when he is of this opinion, it is but natural that he should think of having all the powers in his hands, so as to be able to check in time anything going wrong. How far he should centralise these powers in himself becomes more a question of temperament and previous training. If he wishes to know how the sons of the Ruling Princes are going to be educated, he presumes it is his duty to see that the future Ruler of the State should be educated properly to fit him for the due discharge of his duties. The father of the young Prince may have his own ideas but he must subordinate them to the ideas of his Political officer, and the latter on account of his superior position cannot be persuaded to imagine that the ideas of the former can at times be better, even when they do not correspond with his own.

If the Political officer is in charge of a minority administration the sense of responsibility rises often so high, that he takes for granted that his will should prevail in everything, and nothing should be done without his knowledge, and everyone should look up to him for every little thing. It is not unusual that members of the family of a deceased Ruler find it frequently very difficult to accommodate themselves to the changed condition of their status. Under such circumstances the deceased Ruler's Rani may not go out for a drive in a motor car without the chauffeur taking his orders from the Administrator

nor may the Mali (gardner) of the Palace garden offer her flowers without incurring the displeasure of his new Master.

Such cases happily are rare but that they do occur cannot easily be denied. They are at least talked about in the palace circle and facts are at times stranger than fiction.

The Political officer, however, cannot wholly be blamed. He is more the victim of the system under which he has to work and the apathy to resent boldly but politely such treatment on the part of those who suffer also conduces to the same result. It is truly said that no one can receive better treatment than he deserves.

British Government, as we have already said, is highly organised. In it the principle of an administrative hierarchy, which is the basis of all centralised system of Government, finds full play. Centralization is in the first place recognised as the basis of the administrative organisation, so says Mr. Berthelmo.

The centralised system of administration has been found not suitable to the requirements of the modern times. The first International Congress was held at Brussels to study the question of the science of administration during the Exhibition year of 1910. In it the question asked was "what is the science of administration and to what purpose should we take part in an International Congress in order to discuss it?"

The answer given to this question will be found not only of great interest but of great use. Mr. Coorman, President of the Congress in his admirable opening speech has given the following definition of administration.

(1) The powers and duties of Executive authority;

(2) The exercise of these powers and duties :

(3) The body of these officials.

Mr. Montague Harris in his book "Problems of Local Government"—dealing with the subject matter of the papers read at the Congress says "It is true that in this country (England) the word 'administration, is not commonly used in this sense and we shall perhaps arrive at better understanding the scope of the Congress if we say that it was designed to deal with the forms and methods of administrative Government, local and central, and their relations to one another."

The Indian Princes feel that a change is urgently wanted in the forms and methods of the present administrative Government, which will give them greater freedom for action and yet maintain harmonious relations with the Government of India.

The necessity of studying the question of the present administrative Government is of paramount importance at the present juncture, when the air is full of reforms all over the world, and especially in the British Empire. Even if there are some among

the Princes who are of opinion that our existing system is not only perfect in itself for our present needs, but even in the future it will require no modification to suit altered circumstances. To them a question may be put whether they would not have done better under freer conditions for their States than they have been able to do now. It is most unlikely that any Prince could be really satisfied with his lot be he one of the Premier or the smallest Princes. The relations of all with the British Government are regulated by one underlying principle and what that principle is had better be given in the words of an eminent Political officer attached to the Court of Hyderabad. Mr. Henry Russel in his evidence of 21st February, 1832, to which an allusion has already been made, said " This system of Confederation which we have hitherto pursued with protected States of India is inevitably progressive in its nature. Every new alliance that we contract brings us into territorial or political contact with other States which in their turn submit to the same system and fall under the same consequences. A State that has once resorted to an alliance with us can no longer remain stationary. By degrees our relations become more intimate, the habit of relying upon the foreign support gradually paralyses its own faculties, and in the end it loses the form as well as the substance of independence. If it is galling by its trammels and makes an effort to shake them off, as the Peishwa did, it only precipitates its own destruction; if it submits, it declines by degrees, from one stage of weakness to another, until like the Nizam or the Raja of Mysore it expires from exhaus-

tion. The choice is between a violent and a lingering death."

How shrewd and true were these observations no intelligent Indian and especially the Princes of all grades from the highest to the lowest require to be told !

Instances of "the habit of relying on foreign support" are numerous and they are to be met with at every step. And examples are not wanting of heavy and disproportionate punishments meted out to Princes when even a faint attempt is made by them to show resentment at the "galling trammels."

Such a state of affairs, be it noted, is merely the logical result of the system of Subsidiary Alliance and neither Political officers nor the Government whose agents they are can honestly be blamed for it. They are as helpless as the organs of a human body, when the latter is injected with a deadly poison. Annihilation of the Indian Princes and of all that they stood for the past was fully expected when the Subsidiary system was introduced and this will be clearly seen from the following extract, again from Mr. James Mill's evidence.

"*Question.*—" Do you imagine that the longer it continues the greater will be the difficulty in putting an end to that eventually" (a more complete incorporation with the British Dominion)? "No, I think by degrees we are proceeding towards it, and one effect of it pointed out not by those who under the name of conservative policy would preserve the interme-

diate state as long as possible is, that in the meantime these troublesome parties, the old military families who formerly enjoyed power and do not willingly give up the hope of it, are gradually worn out without bringing odium upon us. They would ascribe the cause of their declension to us if we were to take the Government entirely into our own hands but when we merely take the military power and leave a nominal sovereignty in the hands of the old sovereigns, they are equally unemployed and exposed to this decline and gradual annihilation, but do not seem to owe their calamities to us. I believe, however, that a good deal of this supposed advantage is fanciful, for they are not so ignorant as not to know that we are the cause of all the change which has taken place."

How shrewd was the observation and how foresighted were the Englishmen of those times! Not only then but even now the best of Indians can hardly hope to hold their own with such tactful and shrewd men. But the redeeming feature of the present era is of Hope, Faith and Sympathy, and we can therefore fully rely on the sympathetic motives of a few Englishmen who rule the destinies of the British Empire. If in the former times the predominating feature of the Administration was the aggrandisement of the moral and political power, the present is the age of the moral and material development of the Empire. And there can be no material development unless the component parts of the Empire are allowed to work out their destinies in their own way. We have not the slightest doubt

that the genius of the English people will not fail them as it did not fail them when the Providential connection between England and India was in the melting pot. The present world-wide War has shown in various directions that the ideal of annihilation was not righteous and the only righteous course is that which would permit the full material and moral development of each component part of the Empire.

In this connection we cannot do better than quote from Mr. Coorman's address at the Brussel's Congress of the science of administration. " In the vast domain of administrative questions there are points of view peculiar to each country, to each region, to each municipality. These special aspects must be left to the sagacity of the natural regional or local administrations, although at the same time they may be of interest to others. But there exist also general elemental universal principles, and common rules which no frontier bars or confines and which it would be useful to place in strong relief, perhaps even to codify."

(*b*)—The King and his Indian Allies.

We have said elsewhere that the world is ringing with the words 'Peace and Reconstruction'. As every one during the War tried " to do his bit," now every one will have to do his bit to make the Peace possible, that is to create peaceful conditions. In British India by the King Emperor's Proclamation issued almost on the Christmas Eve, the long disturbed condition of the people's mind has been set

at rest as if by magic. The stamp of inferiority has been removed once for all from the people's forehead, and they have been considered fit—or rather admitted, (considered fit in theory they were since a long time) to sit in the Council Chamber along with the rulers of British India for the peaceful administration of the country. This is a great step in advance in the political vision of the rulers.

But does the Proclamation affect the whole of India ? No. One third of India covered by the Indian States remains untouched, unswayed and unaffected. It is not even in the same position as it was when the first Proclamation of 1858 of the Great Queen Victoria was made. Nor has its position been changed for the better by the succeeding Proclamations of His late Majesty King Edward and His Majesty the present King George and announcements made by a chain of eminent Viceroys and statesmen. They have however all unanimously given in unequivocal terms their assurance that the Treaty rights of the Indian rulers would always be scrupulously respected. The last assurance on this point was given by H. E. Lord Chelmsford in his viceregal speech at the last Conference of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs when he said :—

"There are for the most part Treaties between the British Crown and your States. These Treaties are sacred and I can assure you that it will be my earnest desire to maintain them not only in the letter but in the spirit in which they were framed."

The Proclamations, one and all, were meant as much for the people of India as for the Princes and

Chiefs. The British Indians being not satisfied—the pledges contained therein having remained unfulfilled—went on agitating and agitating to get their disabilities removed and they succeeded. The Princes and Chiefs are not in that happy position to agitate and so they are not only where they were in the fifties but much worse off. The position of the more important States will be still worsened, it is feared, under the Constitution of the Chamber of Princes about which we shall write at some length under a separate chapter.

The question before us is—should one third of India, i. e., the States be a danger to the progress of India as a whole and to the British Empire? We consider that this is a question which cannot be relegated as of no importance to the Empire, when the peace of India is threatened by Bolshevism. Apart from this fact of great import and now that the peace with Germany is ratified, it is necessary to ensure a real peace. In other words, every component part of the Empire should be rejuvenated so that in time of danger, if such danger were ever really to arise, it would be ready to take its place with a cheerful heart and self-reliance.

Having regard to the world-forces that are working now and they are likely to be more active in the East than in the West—we may with advantage quote what some of the important newspapers had to say after the ratification of the peace treaty with Germany. The King Emperor representing the soul of the Empire prayed for unbroken peace and dwelt on the anxious problems awaiting solution.

The '*Times*' says as follows:—

"The new era opens with old maxims of political honour so bright that it ought to shine for all time. The peace has been signed. It has now to be made, and the League of Nations is the Instrument. The absence of America and Russia has diminished the power of the League, but England and France are ready to shoulder the responsibility for the League alone, hoping to obtain re-inforcement later. The Anglo-French Alliance must, therefore, be drawn closer, but we shall welcome any sign of a new political spirit in Germany, yearning for her admittance to the League."

Another paper says:—

"The 11th of January 1920, marks the great day of the opening of the new Era of Peace for the world. The day marks the day of Peace with Germany. The papers echo the King's prayer that Saturday's ceremony of the ratification of the peace will open an era of unbroken peace but dwelt on the anxious problems still awaiting solution."

The *Daily Telegraph* says:—

"This is no time to triumph on soaring hopes. The delay in completing peace with Germany is less disquieting than the grave questions involved in the omission of the American and Russian signatures and the problems of the re-settlement of the East."

The *Freiheit* talks about the yoke and sets its hope on the British worker alleviating it.

'*The Times*' message, is significant for our purpose. It assures that the new Era will be marked with the old political honour so bright that it should shine for all times to come as in the past and affirms that peace has to be made.

What we are hankering after is that the political honour of old England should really shine on the Indian States as it has begun to shed its lustre on British India.

The people in British India have been made real partners. What we ask for the Indian States is, that they should also be made real partners of the King-Emperor and from their fore-head the stamp of inferiority should be removed. The Princes without hesitation accept the King of England as their Emperor. They are whole-hearted in this acceptance. If peole in British India are to work now as equals of the British administrators, the Princes may equally expect that they should be treated as the real Allies of the Emperor, that is his friends. There should be no difficulty in changing the angle of vision to this position. It seems almost ludicrous to treat the Princes in any other manner. If the King's chair is in front, the chairs of the Sovereign Princes of India should be just behind it and not far away.

Once the angle of vision is changed in the right manner as above indicated, various difficulties which arise from out of the brain of the Political Department will have no scope. It was for instance proposed, when the King held a levee in Delhi and was

to meet the Princes, that the latter should bow and pass away. To say the least this would have been atrocious to the Indian mind which is more sensitive to outward formalities. The Indian Princes are the King's friends. Friendly greetings are never carried out in this distant manner: They are more cordial and on terms of equality and not so formal as was intended. Is it not a pity that a protest had to be made by some Princes, gentle as it was, to see that a proper form was observed on the occasion? It was fortunate that the Political department saw that the Indian Princes too had a position. If the Political brain deemed it necessary to exalt the position of the King-Emperor by degrading that of the Indian Princes, it only shows that the guiding spirit misunderstood its function and did not grasp the sense of proportion. The Emperor's position is high and central and to add to its lustre the setting of Princes must be close to the central figure as in a ring and not far away. Has any one seen the setting in a ring so scattered? The Englishman is wanting in imagination. The French would never commit such a mistake. They are more imaginative people and besides they are artistic. It is this want of imagination and artistic temperament that is at the bottom of much of the mischief that has played so great a havoc in India in all the departments of activities and broadened the gulf between the Englishman and the Indian. We don't blame the Englishman that he likes to be so matter-of-fact. It is his nature and no one can blame Nature. What we have to ask of him is, that he should try to understand others when his mission is of high Imperia

lism. If we claim that he should understand us better, at least now, after a hundred years of more intimate contact, it won't be said that we ask too much.

Even the matter-of-fact Englishman must admit that at least those, who by Treaty rights are recognised as the King's Allies, should not have been considered as deserving of so much want of cordiality.

It may not be uninteresting to note here that when the Maharaja Gaekwar visited Japan he was received by the Emperor of Japan by going forward half-way in the audience hall. When a comparative stranger shows such regard and courtesy to one of the King's Allies, is it not all the more incumbent on the part of our Political department to be more circumspect in their dealings with our Sovereign Princes? To outsiders it may sound rather strange, but it is unfortunately a fact that every opportunity is taken to make the Indian Princes realise their ever-increasing inferiority by the length of the red carpet used at the time of reception.

When quite young, we were rather amused, being completely innocent of the diplomatic dealings of persons in high station in life, at the fuss that was made over the reception in London by the Maharaja Gaekwar in honour of the late King Edward who was then the Prince of Wales representing the Great Queen Victoria, and the repetition of the same fuss, when on a similar occasion the Duke of Connaught paid a visit to His Highness. On the last occasion

the tension was relieved by the Maharaja's yielding to go forward three feet more than on the previous occasion. Does this really tend to raise the dignity of the King or increase the cordiality between the King and the King's Indian Allies!!

When viewed in the light that the Indian Princes are the Allies of the King Emperor and as such they are to be just next to him on the horizontal and not the vertical plane, much of the writings of men like Lee-Warner and Tupper will have to be consigned to the waste-paper basket. What mischief has been done by writers like these! It is useless to criticise them. It will serve no useful purpose. In fact, at every step we shall have to say that this is not right and that is not correct. They were only one-eyed politicians. These writers have not viewed the question from a broad statesman-like view. There is a justification however in their case. The political law of India was formulated during the period of consolidation of the Empire, and that time the predominating idea naturally had to be of self-preservation and it became the more necessary to keep this idea in view when there were so many rival forces struggling to secure domination in India.

There is however one thing to be noted gratefully, that even during this period of consolidation high-souled Englishmen were not wanting who held the torch of political honour before their country-men to guide them in their relations with the Indian States. We have quoted in this book in several places the writings of those great men of England. Here we shall give ex-

tracts from the writings of one such statesman to show what he thought of the relations between the British Power and the Indian States after England had become the predominating Power in India. Its perusal will clearly show from what a high pedestal the Indian Princes have fallen and what a tangled web has been created of their status which will defy the best of jurists to unravel. *Selections from Lord Metcalfe's papers. Edited by John William Kaye—Pages 231-244.*

Duty towards Native States. Interference and Non-interference.

(August 14, 1835).

(There is no subject which more frequently presses itself upon the attention of Indian Statesmen than the amount of interference in the affairs of the Native States which may be rightfully and expediently exercised by the representative of the Paramount Power. Both in the public and private correspondence of Sir Charles Metcalfe this question is frequently discussed; but the following passages, extracted from a lengthy and elaborate paper on the affairs of Jeypore, written as Governor General in 1835, embrace at once the most comprehensive summary of the whole argument, and the most mature expression of the writer's opinions, and may, therefore, stand in place of all other discussions of the subject under the present head.)

(*Extract.*)—The difference between the interfering and non-interfering policy is not that of inter

fering on all occasions and not interfering on any, because, as the predominent power in India, interference is sometimes forced on us, however reluctant we may be to adopt it. The difference is, that the upholders of non-interference avoid interference as much as possible, while the opposite party are rather disposed to avail themselves of every opportunity to exercise it ; seek occasions for it which the others do not ; and assert the right of assuming it when the others would maintain that such a right does not exist, or is very questionable : and in every case in which the question is, whether interference shall be exercised or not, or to what degree it shall be exercised, everyone will naturally be biassed by his preconceived opinion on the general question. Both parties of course aim at the public welfare, and each advocates that line of policy which it deems to be the best.

The interference policy appears to me to be arbitrary. We interfere in the affairs of foreign States as we like. We put up and put down Princes and ministers at our pleasure : set princes over subjects. and ministers over Princes, as we think proper. We do not allow the general feeling of the people to operate, but act according to our own notions of what is right and expedient. The bad tendency of this policy is manifold. It destroys entirely the independence of the foreign state, and paralyses its energies. It also throws the weight of our power into the scale of the Government, and destroys the ability of the people to redress their grievances. It places us on the anti-popular side, and causes us to be

detested. It relieves the native government from the necessity of conciliating its subjects, and of course promotes oppression. While we give this injurious support to the government, we scarcely ever interfere sufficiently to prevent oppression and misrule, and can hardly do so without taking the government into our own hands, and thus putting an end even to the semblance of independence.

Another evil of interference is, that it gives too much power to our agents at foreign courts, and makes Princes and ministers very much the slaves or subjects of their will. An interfering agent is an abominable nuisance wherever he may be, and our agents are apt to take that turn. They like to be masters instead of mere negotiators. They imagine, often very erroneously, that they can do good by meddling in other people's affairs ; and they are impatient in witnessing any disorder which they think may be remedied by our interference, forgetting that one step in this course will unavoidably be followed by others, which will most probably lead to the destruction of the independence of the State concerned.

It must be admitted to be an evil of the non-interference policy that temporary local disorder may occasionally ensue, and must be tolerated, if we mean to adhere strictly to that principle. But this is a consequence which we naturally dislike. We are not disposed to wait until things settle themselves in their natural course. We think overselves called on to interfere, and some bungling of natural arrangement is made by our will, which, because it is our

own, we ever after support, against the inclination of the people, and their notions of right and justice.

The true basis of non-interference is a respect for the rights of others—for the rights of all, people as well as princes. The treaties by which we are connected with Native States are, with rare exceptions, founded on their independence in internal affairs. In several instances the States are, with respect to external relations, dependent and under our protection, but still independent in internal affairs. It is customary with the advocates of interference to twist our obligation of protection against enemies into a right to interfere in the internal affairs of protected States—a right, however, which our treaties generally do not give us, otherwise than as the supporters of the legitimate sovereign against usurpation or dethronement, in the event of his not having merited the disaffection of his subjects.

There are, undoubtedly, extreme cases in which the interference of the protecting Power may be unavoidable. Instances of prolonged anarchy, affecting others under our protection, are of that description. It may be a defect of the non-interference policy, that it cannot in every possible case be maintained. The same objection would probably be applicable to any system of policy. It need not prevent the maintenance of non-interference as the system, admitting rare interference as the exception. There must, however, be a non-interfering spirit in the government and its agents, otherwise the exception will predominate over the rule.

There are two classes of States in India, with which we have relations, those protected, and those not protected, which may be otherwise described as external and internal States, or those altogether beyond our exterior frontier, and those encircled by our dominions, or more or less included within the sphere of our supremacy. The internal States are, in a greater or less degree, either specifically or virtually, under our protection, and it is to these that the question of interference or non-interference pricipally refers. The States of Sind, Caubul, Lahore, China, Nepal and Ava are external States, free as yet from any pretensions of interference on our part in their internal affairs. But the spirit of interference would no doubt soon find cause for the exercise of its withering and mischievous influence even in those States. If I recollect rightly, it has been recommended to me by our agents, east, north and west. The sea being our exterior boundary to the south, is almost the only power that has altogether escaped the suggestion. We have laid the foundation for interference west and north-west by our treaties respecting the navigation of the Indus, which we are now about to promote by stopping it altogether. The question of interference at present, however, relates chiefly, or almost exclusively, to the internal States—those which by treaty or virtually are under our protection. With respect to these, we have no right to interfere in their internal affairs as long as they can govern themselves, and are inoffensive to others. But prolonged anarchy can hardly exist without affecting neighbouring States. The continuance of extreme misrule and oppression, if in the

least degree supported, as it sometimes is, by awe of our power on the part of the people, ought not to be tolerated. Unjust usurpation, not caused by oppression, forces us to take a part, for we must either acknowledge, and so far countenance the usurpation, or we must acknowledge it, and so far oppose it; and we could hardly follow the latter course for long without proceeding further, or dissolving our connexion with the States so situated. These are cases in which interference may be either necessary or justifiable; and it must be remembered, that in any case in which external interference is required, it can only arise from us. Other Native States are precluded from it, if of the protected class, by their relations with us; if beyond the circle of our supremacy, by our intolerance of their interference within it. Those remedies, therefore, for internal distraction, which are available in communities of States less under the supremacy of one protecting and overawing power cannot here be had recourse to. The British Government is the sole referee where reference is necessary. Absolute non-interference on every occasion is consequently impossible. There is nevertheless, a wide difference between a reluctant interference, when it is unavoidable, and a disposition to rush into interference when it is not necessary; and in this consists the difference between the two systems of policy.

The advocates for interference would probably maintain that it is right to anticipate mischief and prevent it by decided interference, and, as disorder will sometimes follow our adherence to non-inter-

ference, there would be much weight in that argument, if our interference were always productive of good. But we often create or aggravate mischief and disorder by injudicious interference, and prevent a natural settlement of affairs which would otherwise take place. One of the strongest arguments in my mind against interference is, that it is more apt to work evil than good. There is nothing in our political administration that requires so much circumspection, and caution, and discreet judgment as interference in the affairs of other States. A single mistake on the part of an agent may cause irreparable mischief; and the power left to agents on such occasions is immense. Almost everything depends on their judgment. The effects of interference are anything but certain. It is not, therefore, a conclusive argument in favour of interference, although it is the best, that we may thereby prevent evil; for, on the contrary, we are just as likely to create it; I should indeed say, infinitely more so. And the evil created by interference is generally irremediable. It virtually, if not ostensibly, destroys the State to which it is applied, and leaves it only a nominal, if any, existence.

As a diplomatic agent, I have had a part in carrying into effect both interfering and non-interfering policy, and the result of my own experience has left two strong impressions on my mind—first, that we ought not to interfere in the internal affairs of other States if we can avoid it; and, secondly, that if we do interfere, we ought to do so decidedly, and to the full extent requisite for

the object which we have in view. Our attempts to interfere for the better government of other States have often been wretched failures as to our purpose, but have nevertheless had all the bad effects of interference on the States concerned. as well as on the minds of other States. Where interference shall begin, and where end, and to what object it shall be confined, and how that object shall be accomplished without involving further and unnecessary interference, are all nice points to determine. The question of interference altogether is, indeed the most difficult of any in Indian policy : but interference is so likely to do evil, and so little certain of doing good, that it ought, I conceive, to be avoided as much as possible. The evils of non-interference may certainly be such somtimes as we would not like to permit to continue, but their effects are generally temporary, and leave the State independent in internal affairs as before. The effects of interference are permanent, and degrade the State for ever, if they do not destroy it. Another consequence of interference is, that it subjects us to the suspicion, which is always alive against us, and to the reproach of incessantly striving to increase our dominions, and to seize those of others. We have thus the evils of appropriation without its benefits. Such is the effect of our occupation of Shekhawuttee, Toorawuttee, and Sambur. A further evil of interference is that it involves us, on account of other people's affairs, in expenses which we can neither ourselves afford to pay, nor contrive to make others pay, owing to their poverty.

On the general question of interference, therefore, it appears to me that the following would be proper rules for our guidance.

1. To abide by treaties, and respect the rights of all foreign States, and not to interfere in their internal affairs when it can be avoided.

2. When compelled by necessity to interfere, to do so with care, that the State concerned may not be permanently affected in an injurious manner by our measures.

3. To interfere only so far as may be indispensable for the accomplishment of the object which is the cause of interference.

4. To interfere decidedly and effectually for the purpose required, and not to leave it unaccomplished.

5. All the cases of necessity for interference cannot perhaps be described, but the following are those which most obviously suggest themselves:—1. General disturbance produced by internal disorder, but extending beyond the limits of the disturbed States, and affecting other States. 2. Prolonged anarchy, with its evil consequences to the people, without a hope of the State's being able to settle its own affairs. 3. Habits of depredation affecting other States, which last would be a just cause, not for interference merely, but

also for war and conquest, if we choose to assert our right. 4. Unjust usurpation, devoid of legitimate claim, or opposed to the choice of the people, which with reference to our supreme power, we must either sanction or put down.

Applying these principles to the state of affairs at Jeypore, it does not appear to me that the case for interference in the internal administration of that principality is established. It is not a case in which absolute non-interference is practicable, because we have already interfered to some extent; but we may abstain from such further interference as is unnecessary. We cannot permit anarchy to prevail, and we must lend our countenance to the Government which exists, but we need not commit ourselves to prevent the establishment of a better, if a better or a more popular one can be formed with a prospect of benefit to that State. Actual interference in the executive administration of the Government is not required, for we do not hear of notorious oppression, or misrule, or want of power in the Government; and it could not, under any circumstsnces, be advantageous unless it were carried to such an extent as would place the whole executive authority in our hands, confirm all the prevalent opinions of our systematic encroachment, draw upon us all the odium of aggression; a state of things which, instead of seeking, we ought, in justice to ourselves, most studiously to avoid.

Comments are unnecessary.

We are aware that since Lord Minto's time a policy of non-interference is introduced. We pro-

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pose to examine in another book whether this laudable policy has been successfully carried out. No doubt the satisfactory working will primarily depend on the Political officers who even now think that it is not safe to allow smaller Chiefs to leave their States without giving previous intimation to them. How much nicer will it be if the spirit of Metcalfe was well imbibed by the whole Political Department.

CHAPTER IV.

The King Emperor's Message of Sympathy.

One of the most amusing and remarkable features of administration in India—either in British territories or the Indian States—is that there is a great deal of writing or report work, and every one complains that he is busy, very busy. And when we look to the sum total of all this laborious and heroic effort, we find that the result is not commensurate. To my mind there is a good deal which may not be done with advantage, and a part of the remaining may be got done by popular agency. After all, the administration is for the people and for their good, and it is not a wise policy to make the people hold themselves aloof. The present system condemns the people as unfit to think for themselves and work for themselves and yet incurs a responsibility to give satisfaction to them which it does not and cannot. Thus there is much ado about nothing.

I consider that administration to be the best which governs the least. This should be quiet self-evident. But because we have got into a groove and accustomed to a certain method, we find it difficult to make a change. Human nature is averse to a change but the situation demands that a change must come on. If we are to give satisfaction to the people and economise time and energy, the best thing that can be done is to entrust the people with much of the work that is being done now for them by officials.

Efficiency should not be trotted out as the only ideal of administration. The ideal should be to meet the requirements of the people, to give them satisfaction and as little scope for criticism and dissatisfaction as possible which can be averted only when people themselves are responsible for their work and when they are taken into confidence. It is a great peculiarity of human nature that when a thing is done for the people, they always find occasion for criticism and dissatisfaction. Don't we find more often than not that when marriages are arranged between young people by their parents, they complain most bitterly if the match is found to be ill-assorted ; and yet the parents have done their best, with the best of intentions to bring two persons together in a happy wedlock.

It is on account of this fault-finding peculiarity of human nature, that it is well said, that the ideal of administration should be "that it should be of the people, by the people and for the people." This is a well founded opinion based on experience and on the proper study of human nature. So long as we don't take into consideration human nature we are bound to suffer in the estimation of the people.

There is another reason why people engaged in the task of administration soould not be overworked—but that they should have sufficient time at their disposal to cultivate their mind, to keep abreast of the times and be able constantly to take a comprehensive view in a broad and statesman-like manner.

For want of time most of the officials fail in the proper discharge of their duties and they become more, or less so many machines. Human affairs, it need hardly be said, cannot be carried in a soul-less manner. It is a great mistake to make administration mechanically pefect. The activities should reach, nay creep, into the hearts of the people. The administration must be sympathetic. Indian administration is supposed not to be sympathetic either in British India, or in the Indian States where every attempt is made to follow the British system as an approved model.

The keen eye of the King-Emperor when he visited India as the Prince of Wales noticed this defect of soul-lessness, and he raised the clarion note that what India wanted was sympathy.

Will our Indian Princes follow the ideal of mechanical perfection or will they touch the chord of the heart of the people? Sir Mount—Stuart Elphinstone made a significant observation that in the Maratha Courts there was greater amity between the rulers and the ruled, and it was their best characteristic. In some States signs are not wanting of this amity; but in many of them the sense of amity is gradually getting extinct. May the Princes revert to the old ideals of their ancestors and rise in the estimation of their people who are by temperament more emotional than cold!

One of the great reasons why people still look up to the Indian rule and why they are so loyal to it is this touch of sympathy and not the blessings of the supposed good government. As far as the bles-

sings of good administration are concerned, mechanical as the British administration may be, it must be honestly confessed, that people in British India are better off in many respects than even in the best of many Indian States. If there is still some love left on the part of the people for the Indian administration and I can equally and honestly assert that there is yet genuine love in the hearts of the people for the Indian rule it is simply because they find between themselves and their rulers greater commonalty of feeling. Let once the traditional feelings disappear and there will be then no excuse for the people to covet the continuation of Indian State rule.

To avoid such a calamitous result I should humbly say, let us go back to our ancient ideals as depicted in the chapter on the Ideal of Sovereignty. Let us only adopt that which is best out of western experience. Improvemet does not necessarily mean the annihilation of the old. Real improvement means only pruning what is old and what is not suited for the present, and engrafting on it new ideals. A production of this nature will endure as it will have all the elements of success within itself, namely the commonness of feeling between the rulers and the ruled and commonness of traditions.

By a clash with the western civilization we were so much dazzled at the outset that for a long time we thought that progress lay in discarding every thing old and adopting every thing new. We were also encouraged in this belief by the constant condemnation of our old ideals. We were so much accustomed to swallow what was placed before us

by western writers that we lost the power to think for ourselves and to study old things. By sheer non-exercise of our faculties we closed the door against ourselves of our old store-house of knowledge.

Even in the time of the Great Shiwaji, knowledge of the ancient method of administration was not lost to the country. The manner in which he organised his administration can be favourably compared with the best practices of modern times. He divided the various functions of state among the different officials each charged with definite duties and each made responsible for the proper discharge of those duties. Shree Shiwaji kept the most important functions in his own hands, namely the direction of policy and the direction of military operations. He took the fullest advantage of the advice of his responsible ministers and gave finality to the combined opinion of all by the stamp of his approval. His was the deciding authority and yet he did not lightly set aside the experience of his officers.

It should be particularly noted, that the details of administration were then left to responsible officers even as they now are here (British India) or in the western countries.

What is the condition that we now find in most of the Indian States? The ruler takes upon himself all the details of administration which generally by his education and experience, he is not fit to discharge properly and he falls a victim to the same evil of not being able to take a broad view of the administration as those officials who are engrossed in the details of executive work.

On account of this tendency there is generally no scope left to raise a class of really responsible officers in the States. It is by the exercise of faculties that development is ensured. By want of initiation and opportunity to commit mistakes the faculty required in responsible officers remains dormant, and even highly paid officials in the States remain to the last day as merely glorified clerks, fit only to take orders from their masters and carry them out as best as they can without any intelligent interest.

The constant complaint of the Princes is that they don't get competent officers to carry on their administration and so they are forced to work more than what is good or necessary for them. This argument has the demerit of going in a vitiated circle. No opportunity is given by them to officers for initiation and therefore no men are produced for work of responsibility. In the absence of competent officers the ruler thinks he has no alternative but to do the work which his officers should have done.

In case a ruler does not do the work himself and he really cannot do it as it is a physical impossibility for one man to do the work of many, he finds out the easy expedient of importing trained officers either Indian or English or both from the British service. English officers on the whole, notwithstanding some of the defects they manifest, do really render good service to the State they serve. Their success however cannot always be attributed to their very superior knowledge or training. In point of intelligence Indians can hold their own against them.

Their success is more attributable to the freedom they get and the respect in which their opinion is held by the Ruler. Many a time a Ruler has to subordinate his own opinion in deference to the opinion of a European officer.

With regard to Indian officers imported from the British service the same success is not noticeable and the reason of this is simple. They in British India suffer from the same defect as the officers in Indian States. Indian officers have to take orders from their European superiors and simply to carry them out. They have hardly any initiative. The Indian service in British India is suffering from defects which were prophesied by Lord Macaulay. He in his prophetic words said "God forbid that we should inflict on her (India) the curse of the new caste, that we should send her a new breed of Brahmins, authorised to treat all the native population as Pariahs."

It will be perceived that the same result of incapacity is produced in British India and Indian States by the same cause; only the means adopted in the two cases are different. In one case Indians are treated as unfit to take an initiative and therefore they are deprived of an opportunity to learn, and in the other they do not get an opportunity because the Ruler takes upon himself the whole initiative, for as Lord Bacon has wisely put it 'no one can act better than he is accustomed to.'

The indirect result of this unsatisfactory condition is that now-a-days India does not produce real good administrators and statesmen. Where is Sir

Salarjung or Sir T. Madhorao or Sir Dinkar Rao ? Is not this a great loss to the country ? Can it be said that in this vast population of three hundred million people and with the spread of English education the country has gone barren all of a sudden ? No, intellectually and in knowledge the country has surely not gone down. As Mr. Gladstone once pithily said ' there are many Gladstones but he got an opportunity and so he is what he is.'

It is well said by a poet :

Full many a gem of brightest ray serene
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.

It is the want of opportunity which is making India poorer day by day. It is this opportunity which Indian States should afford for the fructification of Indian intellect for the good of Indian States, if they are at all to progress in the march of civilisation. The Rulers themselves cannot succeed without competent co-adjutors.

There is a lurking fear in the minds of the Princes that they would lose their power in case their officials are allowed to grow strong by being allowed to exercise real power. How wrong is this fear will be easily perceived at a moment's reflection. In Indian States there is no scope for public servants to form into a close corporation with vested interests. Their service depends on the will of the ruler and during his pleasure. It is unnecessary to dilate further on this point.

It must be carefully borne in mind that the officers exercise the power of the ruler delegated to them. An officer is thus an agent of the ruler. He can only discharge the functions properly in proportion to the responsibility thrown on him and the considerate mannner in which he is treated.

If we are to follow the old Hindu ideal as was followed by that genius Shivaji, the functions of an Indian Ruler can be divided under two heads; one to 'rule' and the other to 'reign.' Under the first he should keep himself in touch with the current work by giving audiences to his Secretary daily and to his Chief Minister occasionally every week according to the pressure of work. He should also keep himself in touch with the general trend of affairs by giving occasional audiences to men of light and leading engaged in various vocations of life, and also to officers who may be on a visit to the capital. He should also show his esteem to non-officials by inviting them to Darbars on ceremonial occasions. Such a treatment accorded to men of light and leading will not only bring them in greater contact with their ruler but will also raise them in their own estimation Such a contact will demolish the stamp of inferiority which manifests itself when there is no intercourse between the Rulers and the ruled on more or less friendly terms. By respecting the self-respect of his people their respect will increase for him and thus the feeling of loyalty will be generated and strengthened which is such a tremendous cementing force that no ruler can afford to neglect it with the rising tide of democracy which is destined soon to invade even the slow moving East.

Under the head of 'reign' the ruler should acquaint himself with the progrss of work in each department co-ordinating it with the progress of work in other departments. In order that every one should be discharging his duty properly, punctually and methodically, he should be in the habit of summoning any officer above a certain rank, and above all he should be accessible to the humblest of his subjects as the Great Akbar was, and thus keep up the old ideal of paternal kingship. It is so much ingrained in the minds of the people and it is very necessary to keep it up in these moving times.

By following this methods worked out by the genius of our ancestors and which happily is in so much accord with the modern western ideal, the Indian Rulers will once more enshrine themselves in the hearts of their grateful people who are still swayed by the theory of the divinity of kings.

In order that it should be possible to carry out this ideal, it is essential that the Chief Minister should be his real representative capable of taking all responsibility of executive administration and to act on his own initiative. He should be in a position to remove friction in the working of different departments and co-ordinate their work. He should be in a position to think on problems of progress and he should also be able to watch the trend of events and receive guidance from the Ruler.

Each officer in charge of a department or departments should be the real head and be in a position to carry on the work leading to the general progress of the administration.

All subordinates under the head of a Department should have duties assigned to them and allowed to work in such a manner, that there is no interference from their superiors unless absolutely necessary and they should not be always made to look up for orders ; but should be allowed sufficient powers and enough latitude to work on their own initiative and responsibility.

Devolution and decentralisation of powers should reach even the autonomous village panchayat, broadened in organic connection established between the humblest villager and the Central Government. Thus every unit of administration will work in union with other units and every one will be afforded an opportunity to work for his own well-being, the general progress of the State, the contenment of the people, and the glory of the ruler.

I have drawn a skeleton scheme on the basis of the ancient Hindu ideal of administration indicating the duties of all the units of the heirarchy of administration from the ruler to the village panchayat. The scheme is but an outline and affords some food for reflection. The subject is so vast that can only be dealt with adequately in a volume by itself. It is beyond the object of the present treatment to offer more than a suggestion.

The Scheme will be found in the Appendix.

Part II.

THE PROBLEM.

CHAPTER I.

The Ideal of Sovereignty.

That civilisation is more solid, more enduring which is based on the traditions immemorial obtaining in a nation, modified necessarily with the changing environment required to equalise theory with practice. The body politique being, like all other growths, an organic growth, all theorising and speculation which loses sight of the system as transmitted by heredity is a fruitless task. Hence before we set up for ourselves the ideal of the India to be, it is imperatively necessary to have a correct idea of India as it was. It has very often been the root-cause of failure in speculative politics, that consideration is lost of the process by which the material before us is moulded in its present form by various forces of thought and events, acting and reacting on one another.

India is the hoariest nation in the world. India was prosperous before Assyria, Babylon and Egypt were babes. India was the land of gold when Athens and Sparta and Macedon were struggling with one another for existence. India was blessed with the sacred and purifying incarnation of Lord Buddha when Rome and Carthage were at grips with each other. India had sunk in meditation and listened when the German hordes were thundering by. And India has been and still is, even as a land of resignation though it be, when England and her allies have been fighting the battles of liberty on the arena of European Gladiatory and when General Smuts

tells her that her civilization is far more ancient. All this time long, India had her own institutions of Politics, Religion and Philosophy born of her own peculiar condition, nurtured by her peculiar environment and developed or decayed of her own peculiar circumstances. The same idea has however been running through their changed form in her vicissitudes, as the thread in a necklace of pearls. Cut this thread away and the shining shimmering pearls will spread off and get lost. We must therefore try to understand and realise this thread before we venture again to add to or take away anything from the original necklace.

The oldest possible memoirs not only in India but in the world of Political Government are set down in the Vedas. They illustrate with suitable words the central ideas round which the theory of kingship revolved. In a community like that of the Aryans coming according to the latest theory from the frozen Arctic regions to a land rich with pastures, glowing with sunlight and peopled with multifarious tribes of inferior civilisation, there was small wonder that the Aryans found the heaven of their desires. They came, they saw, they conquered. In those times therefore the idea of superiority must needs be based on great prowess, manliness and boldness, ingenuity of invention and capacity of execution. Hence in the twelth Sukta of the second Mandala of of Rigveda describing Indra's special qualifications for being selected the King of Gods they have been expressed as:—

"He who having killed the Ahees, freed the seven seas, he who took away by force the king of the Asura—Bala, he who vanquished many a stout enemy, he foresooth is Indra". Again it is said:—

"He is Indra, without whom none can obtain victory, whom those that are desirous of success in battles first invoke, and he who therefore has become the ideal of the whole world." Extracts might be multiplied to corroborate and amplify this idea. It has found acceptance with modern European writers also, when they are trying to describe a picture of an ancient warrior-king through the curtain of the thick mist of antiquity. Cowper in his 'Task' after trying to describe the imaginary formulation of nations after the fall of the Tower of Babylon says :—

> " At length one eminent above the rest for strength
> For stratagem, or courage or all,
> Was chosen leader. Him they served in war
> And him in peace.
> Thus war affording field for the display
> Of virtue, made one chief, whom times of peace
> Which have their exigencies too and call
> For skill in Government, at length made King."

Thus it will be seen what qualities were supposed to mark out the King from the rest. Naturally the theological and authropomorphic proclivities of the Aryans led them to believe that these qualities were in the king because of the Divine essence in him. Otherwise how, they said, could it be, that man could emulate the King of Gods ? This

conception gave rise to the theory that the king is an essence of the Gods, a theory which finds its counterpart in the European idea of the Divine right of Kings, showing remarkably the similarity of the working of human brain under similar conditions.

Yet, although the King enjoyed, by virtue of this hypothetical Divine heredity special rights and privileges over his less fortunate fellow-beings, he was saddled with correspondingly great responsibilities, thus making the royal head that wore a crown very uneasy indeed. For, although the king was thus supposed to be invested with Divine prowess and power, he was to use them, just as the Gods did, for the good of the people. Protection of life and property of the people, raising of their moral and religious status, multiplication of their material resources and comforts, in short making them happy or pleasing them in every way was the goal of his sovereignty. In fact, the very word Râjâ signifying the king, etymologically means " one who pleases or delights the people." He was to be unto them as a father to his children. He was given the sixth part of the dues of meritorious actions by the subjects, but was threatened with complete destruction even of his kith and kin, if he were to misuse the authority resting in him. Says the Manu Smriti, the oldest work on Jurisprudence :—

" The fire arising out of popular discontent caused by misgovernance does not cease till it has reduced to ashes the whole family, glory, wealth and life of the ruler."

The highest ideal of a benign and paternal Government is illustrated in the great King Shree Ram of the Solar race, from which have sprung many of the illustrious scions of the present Indian States, who enunciated his formula of Government in lines made memorable by the Poet laureate Bhavabhuti where he says :—

" There shall be no pain in my heart in having to resign for the sake of pleasing my subjects every tie of affection, every feeling of compassion, every subject of happiness, aye even the idol of my heart—my Queen—love Janaki."

Nothing could be more splendid as an expositon of kingly duties. Hardly anything in any other literature of the world, shows the refulgent magnificence of the idea of rulership in more glowing or touching terms.

This ideal of pleasing all the people all the time is, it will be seen, as difficult of accomplishment as it is to deceive all the people all the time, as Abraham Lincoln has so beautifully put. At least, it is a Verculian task for one man and hence ancient jurists have enforced the necessity on a King of popular assistance in this labour. Says Manu :—

" Ordinarily any great task is difficult to be accomplished single-handed, much more so the task of governing a whole nation with its multifarious responsibilities. " And therefore he advises the formation into the Advisory and Executive Council of the King of ' learned men knowing the traditional history and the customary law of the land, men who

will ever be alike to friend and foe, distinguished for their rectitude, and fearing God and religion.' How very different from many of their modern substitutes! Well might it be said of these, what Cromwell said of the courtiers of the Long Parliament. " clear away ye to make room for honester men."

These various ministers constituting an advisory as well an executive council of the realm were not intended merely to be a picture hung up for show, or a congregation of automatic marionettes who raised their hands when wire-pulled by the King, but were to be given according to Manu's dictates " independent departm ents of work, and they had to give their opinion on questions of their department to the King, and when the policy was thus settled in consultation with themselves to carry it out again."

It will thus be seen that the idea of Government as obtaining in India was a paternal monarchy ruling the people. and partly if not wholly by the people. If the King was dependent on his Ministers for advice as well as execution. they .in their turn had to look up to the highest embodiment of Divine Presence,—not only as a sentimental idol, but as a protecting, co-operating and encouraging higher force. The tie between the king and his ministers on the one hand, and between the king and the people in general on the other, was the golden chain by which the whole world of government was hung. It was, in the words of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, " the *sutra* or the thread " in which the world was woven and interwoven. It was the surging wave

which carried the objects on the merest shore to the heart of the ocean and from there back again to the shore. Every one thought of himself in his relation to the King, as Kalidas the great poet of India, describes in Raghuvansa :—

" I alone am thought of by the King, so thought every one of King Raghu's subjects, for verily is there any river or rivulet which is denied entrance into the heart of the Great Ocean " ? It is this sense of commonness of feeling and commonness of interest, commonness of ideals and commonness of ideas, commonness of administration and commonness of execution which unites and consolidates. It is the single touch which makes the whole world akin—

How grand is the conception, how thrilling the ideal, how inspiring the goal. (1)—If the government of nations were to be based on this principle, much of the friction between the rulers and the ruled, the officers and the subordinates, the aristocracy and democracy, capital and labour, would vanish. If the chariot wheels of administration were to be greased with this unction, how smooth and rapid would be the progress to the distant yet measureable goal ! It is a much easier task to accomplish in the Indian States,

(1). Compare the recent ideas on this subject as discussed in Dr. Powell's paper at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, in London. "A personal nucleus ! Therein lay the tremendous potency of the Kingship in the vast realm of social psychology opening before American eyes. The greatest force operating to bring about the ultimate reunion of the Anglo-Saxon peoples under one flag will be our consciousness of the necessity of a personal nucleus of patriotism capable of rallying the homage of the people in the very highest sense."

because of the commonness in tradition and history, religion and philosophy, customs and manners, race and creed, and yet we hardly see any serious attempts made to utilise so much potential energy and turn it into a kinetic force to mark rapid strides in governmental evolution.

If there was anything wanting to square these ideals of Government with modern democratic and foreign ideas in which Sovereignty is supposed to be really of the people, only entrusted for use to the governing machine, and thus complete the formula of Government of the people for the people and by the people, it would be completed by studying the history of contemporary nations.

The path of progress in political civilization is the same in all countries and climes. The pace only might not be as accelerated in the one as in the other, and this would be necessarily due to varying circumstances and conditions. Crozier the celebrated writer of the book on 'Civilization and Progress' mentions that the environment is the chief factor in civilization and propounds that the process to achieve it is the equalization of conceptions and conditions. In accordance with this law, in a country where nature's products are comparatively few, where its geographical situation renders it unsuitable and and insufficient for self-support, a keen competition is engendered. It might take the form of a struggle between a nation and a nation, king and his people, or capital and labour. This contest whets the abilities and capacities of the various belligerants and always makes them self-assertive and capable

of surviving as the fittest in the struggle for existence. On the other hand, in a country where nature is more prolific and bountiful, where the necessities and even the amenities of life are obtained with the minimum of exertion, there arises and is developed a tendency to indulgence and inanition, sloth and procrastination. This rusts the edge of qualities in men with disuse, until a doubt arises as to their very existence. Such nations progress, if at all they do, very slowly. This is the national as well as the real explanation of the difference of pace in the progress of nations, But as in the old yet none the less pertinent Æsop's Fable, it often happens that a tortoise slow yet sure in its course outwits the rabbit pert yet bounding. The latter over-reaches itself. And still it is always a boon to quicken the tortoise's pace by retaining its sureness.

This very phenomenon can be seen in India who with her rich produce and great material wealth deadened the stimulus to activity which was intensely spurred on in Europe by the keen struggle for existence. Hence she has lagged behind. But it may also be said that because of her ideal of paternal government as also of many other things like her religion and philosophy she has survived, while the other nations which sprung by her, like weeds, bushes or small trees by the side of a stately bunyan tree, perished because of their greater exclusiveness, and yet as said above it is no excuse or justification for her being a laggard.

What is therefore wanted in the Indian States is the retention and polishing of the ancient ideal of

paternal government, moulded so as to achieve it, by a change which will make the popular will take tangible and corporate form in assemblies voicing it clearly and unmistakably. It ought never to be allowed to be supposed that the King is somebody alien in interests and ties to the people, and this could only be done by creating a machine of administration which makes the popular will not only articulate in the popular assemblies but affords the people opportunities for undertaking the arduous task of administration on themselves by proving and establishing by their aptitude, their comprehension of the ideas of government and their sense of responsibilities by constructive criticism.

If this fusion of soul of the body politique as transmigrating from time immemorial with the external constitutional form as made out of modern methods perfected with the contact of contemporary civilised nations be accomplished, a lie direct would certainly be given to the oft-repeated cant that :—

> "The West is West and the East is East
> And the twain can never meet."

and instead, will realise the ideal of the Divine song of Bhagwat Gita, *viz* :—

> Where the Lord Krishna (symbolising the knowledge of the East) joins hands with Arjuna (typifying the zealous action of the West) there always will abide glory, success, riches and eternal morality.

How this ancient ideal is sought to be made practical in the present times would be seen by a perusal of the scheme detailed in the Appendix.

CHAPTER II.

The Past and the Future.

We have reviewed briefly the position of Indian States: What they were and what they now are. We have seen from what high position they have been reduced to the position of helplessness and therefore incapable of taking their due share in British Politics. We have also pointed out that the changed condition was very much a result of the political creed of the times when Indian States came in contact with the Honourable East India Company. I think we have not failed to point out equally strongly the necessity of changing the ideals of the past.

We have been hearing a great deal of the change in the angle of vision of British politicians in relation to Indian States and India as a whole. Though it is a catching term, I cannot but say that it is a term which is not correct from a scientific point of view. If by this expression is meant that only the focus of vision is changed leaving the mind untouched by the world-forces. all that I have to say is that all the sacrifice the world has made throughout the Great War will have been indeed made for nothing, and it will have to be said once more, that the British Political officers in India have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing.

What is most urgently wanted is that the mind of the British Political officers should be purged of

ignorance and prejudice, and the direct causes removed which go to make India a weak beam in the magnificent edifice of the British Empire. The strength of the Empire is to be judged by the strength of the component parts which go to make up the whole structure.

India at present is the weakest part, and the strength of the Empire will have to be judged by the weakness of this part.

Sir W. Lee-Warner has done a great service in disguise to the Indian Princes by exposing their real position in a more or less logical manner from his short-sighted imperialistic stand-point. Similarly the inquiry into the conduct of His Highness Malharrao Gaekwar has in no small way cleared much of the clouded vision of the Princes.

Lord Salisbury's despatch as Secretary of State for India on the Gaekwar case and the connected despatches reveal the real situation as nothing else does. I make a few extracts from the book ' General Sir Richard Meade and the Feudatory States of Central and Southern India, by Thornton.

" The inquiry was not based on considerations of law, it was an act of state carried out by the Paramount Power." The Viceroy of India acting in the name of and by the supreme authority of Queen Victoria delegated to the Commission the right to inquire into the guilt of the accused Prince ; not to pronounce a sentence or even to give a conclusive verdict. The supreme exercise of power is reserved for England as the victor and successor of the Mogul Empire.

"Every step in the proceedings against the Gaekwar the reception of complaints against him...and the investigation of the charges against him, have been one and all, acts of prerogative having rest neither in statutes nor in customs, nor in the consent of those over whom it is exercised."

"The Viceroy has acted, as any of the Mogul Emperors might have acted if a similar charge had been brought against any of the tributary Princes of the Empire."

"The Commission of Inquiry is but simply a committee of inquiry to inform the mind of the Viceroy-in-Council."

"This inquiry is the first occasion on which England's jurisdiction as Paramount and Protecting Power in India, to inquire into and punish (if need be) the misfeasances of Native Rulers, was formally recognised by the Chiefs themselves."

"Such jurisdiction, as rightly stated in the article, is not founded upon statutes nor it is expressly declared (though often implied) in treaties but results directly from the position we have assumed. For the power which protects from internal as well as external foes, which prevents an uprising against oppression, is in justice bound to deal with the oppressor."

Lord Salisbury to the Viceroy :—

"It was pointed out to the Gaekwar that the responsibility which his misuse of power had imposed upon the British Government, the fact that you are bound to protect his throne against insurrection laid on you a sacred obligation to protect his

subjects against misgovernment. The sentences in which Your Excellency pointed out this consequence to the Gaekwar forcibly expressed the principles on which your relations with the Sovereigns of Protected States must be always conducted. The British Government is undoubtedly the Paramount Power in India and the existence and the prosperity of the Native States depend upon its fostering favours and benign protection."

"This is especially true of the Baroda State both because of the geographical position, intermixed with British territory and also because a subsidiary force of British Troops is maintained for the defence of the State, the protection of the person of its Ruler and the enforcement of his legitimate authority.

On this the Viceroy wrote to the Gaekwar:—

"My friend, I cannot consent to employ British Troops to protect anyone in the course of wrong-doing. Misrule on the part of Government, which is upheld by the British Power, is a misrule, in the responsibility for which the British Government becomes in a measure involved. It becomes, therefore not only the right but the positive duty of the British Government to see that the administration of a State in such a condition is reformed and that gross abuses are removed."

"I must hold Your Highness responsible for the amendment of the serious evils disclosed, and I leave to you the selection of your agents with a distinct intimation that if Your Highness fails to attend to the advice I now offer you and if, in consequence, the condition of Baroda administration remains unreformed, the only course left will be to remove Your Highness from the exercise of power, and to make such other arrangements,

consistent with the maintenance of the integrity of the Baroda State, as I may deem necessary to secure a satisfactory administration."

"It is only proper to observe that whatever course might have been taken, it must and could have been dictated, by a regard for the interest of the people of Baroda."

On this Lord Salisbury to the Viceroy :—

"Whether the result of this mode of proceeding has in all respects corresponded to your anticipations may be open to question. It has been undoubtedly attended with grave inconveniences, from which a sufficient argument might be drawn against the adoption of a similar procedure if unhappily a similar occasion for it were ever to arise."

"Whatever inference might be drawn from this finding, it could not be regarded as an assertion of his fitness for an office of the highest trust, and would even if considered alone have placed a serious difficulty in the way of his restoration to sovereignty over the people of Baroda."

"The British Government which had deprived its Sardars and Ryots of the power of righting themselves, could not be justified in using its supremacy to compel them to submit again to a Ruler whose incurable vices had been established by a full experience."

"It might have obscured the principle that incorrigible mis-rule is of itself a sufficient disqualification for sovereign power. Her Majesty's Government have willingly accepted the opportunity of recognising in a con-

spicuous case the paramount obligation which lies upon them of protecting the people of India from oppression. "

"The Government of India (without attempting to decide the geneological merits of the respective claimants) considered that the selection of a lad of the Khandesh group was best in the interest of the Baroda State."

"In making public the suspension of Gaekwar and the institution of the inquiry, it was announced that whatever the results might be, a native administration will be established at Baroda."

"In conferring the Sovereignty of the Baroda State no alteration will be made in the treaty engagements which exist between the British Government and the Gaekwars of Baroda and the new Gaekwar will enjoy all the previleges and advantages, which were conveyed to the Gaekwar of Baroda in the Sunnad of Earl Canning, dated 11th March 1862."

After the perusal of the above extracts who will not feel distressed and depressed ? There is still some hope left in the situation for the Indian States. The treatment of the whole subject requires to be reconsidered. The present situation is but a logical sequence of the position created by depriving the rulers of their powers and the Sardars and people of the power to right the position. Not only is the ruler made to go on crutches but he is deprived of the only safety—the correction by his own peoples—in keeping him in a healthy condition as a ruler.

The assumption of the right to correct by the paramount power can be likened to the treatment

of symptoms and not of the root cause. This treatment is similar to that adopted in the science of medicine which usually deals with symptoms and not with the root cause of a disease?

Such a course in my opinion is most unscientific and herein lies the difference in the Eastern and Western methods of dealing with problems. The eastern mind, being more imaginative, generally deals with the basic principles and lays down rules of conduct.

Happily the time has come to deal with the question of the Indian States in a scientific manner. For every improvement a proper time has to come and I think the present is the psychological moment for reviewing the whole situation in a generous and just spirit, if not according to law.

What we want to see is a harmonious relationship established between the Paramount Power and the Indian States for the glory of the British Empire.

If Lord Beaconsfield's imagination made the Queen of England assume the title of Empress of India, Mr. Lloyd George's strong common-sense allowing a free and fitting life for every one ought to come to the rescue of the Indian States, and to make them take their proper position as self-respecting units of the Empire.

Already a place of honour is allowed to the rulers of India as independent units and to the people of India also in the Peace Council Chambers of the Allies as equal partners in the Empire, along

with the representatives of the Oversea Dominions of the Great British Empire.

When His Majesty the King-Emperor gave a luncheon to the representatives of the Dominions at the Buckingham Palace. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, as representing the Indian Princes, was given the first seat to his right, even above the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Lloyd-George.

These manifestations of esteem and regard for the representative of the Indian Rulers is a sign of great import of the greatness in store for them.

If the policy of treating the Princes as mere trustees was necessary at one time during the period of consolidation of the Indian Empire and in keeping with the ideals of those times has not the time come to reverse that policy now and adopt a new one in consonance with the ideals to which the War has given birth, namely, the ideals of liberty and self-determination?

Is it not also necessary to have a fitting setting to the dignity of the King Emperor by having real Sovereign Kings around him? The word Emperor does import the meaning that there are Kings in his Empire. The Moghul Emperors had Kings under them and not mere trustees as the present Indian Rulers are supposed to be.

It will by no means be derogatory to the position of the Emperor to have Kings in his Empire. On the contrary their existence will add magnificence and lustre to the high ideal which the word Emperor carries in the imagination of the people.

After all, what is required is a change in the vision and not merely a change in the angle of vision. That consideration of the ideal with which the Maharaja of Bikaner was given the first seat at the luncheon has to be extended and permeated throughout all the relations which exist between the King Emperor and the Indian Rulers—his old Allies.

The Indian Rulers are in direct alliance with the King Emperor and it will be for his Majesty therefore to take into consideration the anomalous position which his former allies now hold in the economy of the British Empire. It should also be the duty of Mr. Lloyd George to tender his respectful advice to His Majesty in this most important question which affects the well—being of India as a whole.

Have not the Rulers of Indian States always served as pillars of the Empire in times of difficulty, and have not their services been acknowledged over again from the time of Lord Canning to the present day ? Have the Princes not stood as great bulwarks to break the storm of popular anger and excitement ? Will it not therefore be the highest statesmanship to make these rulers stronger than ever, to make them fulfil their natural function and stand by the side of British officials in whose hands lies the governance of India ?

Wisdom lies in making a provision against danger. Engineers provide bulwarks to protect their work against the stress and strain of elements. Wise statesmanship also should not ignore the laws of physics but avail themselves of the lessons they teach as they are the natural laws that endure.

Princes must be so raised in their moral stature as to make them self-respecting and also to make them command the respect of their people. To treat them as trustees and merely to give them high sounding names would not raise their self-respect.

Oh, to what length the logical sequence of this idea of trustship is carried! The son of a Prince cannot claim vested interest in his father's possessions or dignity! Is there anything more in all these acts of authority than the exercise of moral power for the subjection of Rulers who have by the will of Providence come under the suzereignty of the King of England? If the King of England inherits his throne and his son succeeds him by the gospel of Divinity. Is there any reason why the same privileges, which are their birth rights, should not be extended to the Indian Rulers? The Princes too claim the same sort of sanction as the King-Emperor.

Before the Empire was consolidated the forebears of these rulers were not infrequently styled as their Royal Highnesses and was not the King of Oudh addressed as His Majesty? Is it not even now that the ruler of Nepal is addressed as His Majesty? Why should not therefore the rulers at least of the Premier States be addressed as Their Royal Highnesses and their Heirs apparent as Their Highnesses? If it is a prerogative of the Paramount Power to style one ruler as His Exalted Highness and one Yuvraj as His Highness, why need not the same prerogative be extended to at least some Princes as alluded to above, and thus resuscitate them in their proper position as Allies of the King Emperor which

they were when they entered into treaty engagements and which they resolutely still maintain to be. Such a gracious act will not only strengthen the ties of loyalty to the King Emperor of the Indian Rulers, but it will also exemplify that the British Government has at last seen the justification though late it may be—of not treating the old treaty engagements as so many scraps of paper.

If by treating the Princes as trustees, many disabilities have been created for them and many difficulties have been experienced by Political officers, then by this just act demanded by the present situation and by the proper appreciation of the change in ideals evolved as a result of the present war, all the difficulties will vanish as the mist vanishes before the rising sun.

I have already said that in the study of a problem we should go from facts to principles and again descend from principles to facts to verify the correctness of the principles. How correct is this method will be easily perceived. We have noticed a lesson in history from time immemorial, that in conflicts of interests of nations even when an agreement is arrived at there is always a tendency to break through those engagements. Lord Salisbury had once aptly remarked that "treaties are meant to be broken." This expression imports the meaning that an opportunity has to be taken to further the interests of the party concerned.

Whatever may have been the nature of the spring of action behind the treaties and engagements made

with the Indian Princes by the Honourable East India Company, if they have been broken as the occasions arose, there is no reason to blame either the Princes for their acquiescence or the Political officers for having taken advantage of the situation. These should be treated as natural acts and no one can or should complain about them.

In the case of the Indian Rulers there is a justification for their acquiescence as indicated by their philosophy of resignation which teaches that in times of adversity wisdom lies in bearing the consequences with courage, fortitude and resignation. This philosophy also teaches that those who know how to wait with faith and hope and trust in God, do get what they want, if their aspirations are justifiable. In the practical philosophy of a materialistic world we may realise the same meaning in the resultants and co-existences created by world forces.

With the progress of civilization on moral lines the interests of the whole world mingle together For real progress the recently evolved idea of co-operation between nations has to be given full play and unless a full scope is allowed for individual units to develope freely on their own lines harmonious working becomes almost impossible.

In the fructification of this ideal for freedom, Indian Rulers are likely to be supported by the English nation, the watch-word of which is co-operation and fair-play. It is devoutly to be expected from the statesmen of England, that they will not fail to retrace their steps, throwing over-board the old ideas,

of short-sighted interest and embrace the ideal of intelligent self-interest for the good of all and the Empire as a whole.

If the Princes therefore ask for rehabilitation of their position, if they agitate and agree for the consummation of that happy result, it will not be considered a wrong act or an act of disloyalty on their part but it will be assumed as a necessary step for the real benefit of the Empire.

This claim of the Princes has been repeatedly affirmed by British statesmen.

" Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, on the assumption of the title of Empress by Queen Victoria on 1st January 1877, at the Delhi assemblage said :—

" But you, the natives of India, whatever your race and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian Statesmen and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honour, and consistent with all the aims of policy."

I cannot resist the temptation to quote the words which Dr. Woodrow Wilson used on an occasion not dissimilar to the one we have in hand. He said :—

" It will build up from the bottom an understanding and sympathy and unity of purpose and effort which will no doubt have an immediate and decisive effect upon our

great undertaking. You will find it, I think, not so much a new task as a unification of existing efforts...... . of energies now too much scattered and at times somewhat confused into one harmonious and effective power."

"It symbolises one of the first fruits of such an organisation, namely, the spreading of the realisation of the great truth that it is each one of us as an individual citizen upon whom rests the ultimate responsibility. Through this great new organisation we will express with added emphasis our will to win and our confidence in the utter righteousness of our purpose."

CHAPTER III

Education of Princes.

Let Knowledge grow from more.
But more of Reverence in us dwell

It should be conceded without reserve that the Indian Princes no less than the Indian people have in their hands, in a large measure, the shaping of India's destiny in the days to come. The recent Proclamation bids fair to hasten the time when the public mind of India will have so expanded as to demand suitable institutions to enable her to be a deserving member of the mightiest federation of free nations that the world has ever seen. Is it too much to expect that our Princes' share in the glorious task of preparing ourselves for the proudest day in English history should not be a meagre one? We all who claim to be the intellectuals have to train ourselves for our respective vocations in life. Have the Indian Princes no responsible work to do in the governence of their States and the furtherance of the interests, moral and material, of the people committed to their care? The future rulers of Indian States will no longer be called upon merely to lend richness and variety to meaningless though picturesque *tamashas* known in our political phraseology as Princes' Durbars, but will have to play the role of responsible leaders in the foundation and consolidation of a self-respecting nation. Verily as supporters of our national life and existence we expect them in course of

time to develop into Rajas whose proud privilege it is to serve whole-heartedly their people and their country. Their noble heritage demands of them an aptitude to guide the fortunes of their race so as to make its future better and brighter than its past. A complete and generous education fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of Peace and War. That is Milton's conception of an education proper for gentlemen's sons between the ages of twelve and twenty-one. Judged in the light of the views of this great poet-educationist it is not difficult to perceive how hopelessly deficient is the education now imparted to our Rajkumars. The present day education neither tends to awaken in them pride in a common past or hope for a common future. An appreciation of India's past is what many of our Kumars never hear of. A sense of their responsibility in the difficult and heavy work of reconstruction is hardly awakened in even a select few of our Princes. It will not do to say that pride in a common past is not possible with a record of continual provincial wars and conflicting claims of discontented races. It is no use talking of the days of our supreme national humiliation when our Governments were fast falling to pieces and the foreigners were having it within their power to acquire large territories easily. Let us remember that nations in their making are smelted in the furnance of war and hammered on the anvil of battle. The most pleasing harmony in music is often only the result of well-regulated jarring notes. The heroic deeds of Shivaji no less than those of Akbar and Pratap, the chival-

rous conduct of Humayun in helping the Rajput Princess against Bahdurshah and the saintly remark of Shivaji when a beautiful damsel was presented to him are alike a source of pride and inspiration both to the Hindu and the Mahomedan of to-day. Think of how Italy was born and Germany was wrought into a nation. The lesson which history teaches us is that the ideal should be placed before the people in a sufficiently fascinating style and that it is possible to do so in the national school. Italian writers wrote of Italy ; Italian poets sang of her. Italy as ideal was pictured until Italian hearts throbbed responsive to Italy as mother-land. Similarly was the ideal of the German fatherland proclaimed by stalwart writers through dreary years of wars and religious struggles, through repression and tyranny: and through jealousies and hatred. Should not our Rajkumar Colleges at least with their highly paid staff have attempted something in this direction as far as mother India is concerned ? How many of the alumni of our Princes' Colleges have rendered the right service to their raiyats by offering the blessings of good Government ! And what about the hope in a common future ? Is the story more cheerful ? It is true that Indian poets in different provinces have sung of the motherland and our patriots have by their writings and speeches pictured in glowing colours the rejuvenation of our dear Hind Mata. But can it be said without hesitation that the education of our Kumars has been so conducted as to help forward the cause of actual nation-building ? Even in season and out of season have they been reminded of their narrow provincia-

lism and the danger of getting lost in case the unification of India becomes an accomplished fact. May I know if this sort of education will ever secure for them the development of full and effective human personality or the grace and dignity of a life in full and harmonious relations to the universe? When I think of the German Princes who have had to follow the same courses of study as ordinary students at the University of Bohn and look at the denationalizing influences at work at the Rajkumar Colleges here I feel doubtful as to whether it would not be better to remain uncontaminated with an initiation into this sort of training. The Kumars evidently are neither brought up in consonance with the best traditions of the race to which they belong nor are they equipped with the knowlege and means necessary for their progress. I should consider it a blessing if the education they receive invested them with a desire to promote their well-being in the true sense of the term. Some of the would-be rulers are even innocent of the fact that neither increased revenue nor grand *tamashas* nor even the Europeanisation of service is an indication of good government. A prosperous state presumably means that the people are happy and contended. Nothing adds so much lustre to the exalted station in life which an Indian Raja fills as the blessing of a happy and progressive people.

To realize this ideal the first thing to do is to give education through the medium of an Indian tongue. It should certainly not be a provincial vernacular only but a language which is easily under-

stood all over the peninsula. A common language such as Hindustani should be adopted as the medium of instruction and popularised so as to make it a bond of union between the Hindus and the Mahomedans. Among the various vernaculars that can boast of a decent literature this is one that stands out strongly from the rest on account of its being very widely known. A man who knows Hindi can travel over India and find almost everywhere Hindi speaking people. Urdu is but Persianised Hindi and the reason way I speak of this common language as Hindustani is that I have little faith in the purist movement to write an artificial Hindi which is completely purged of its Persian and Arabic elements.

As inheritors of tradition the Hindu Princes have several bonds of union in a common religion, a common literature and an easily understandable vernacular. The present students of the Rajkumar Colleges may derive untold benefit by being made familiar with the legendary lore of this ancient land. Instruction of the young among all great nations has been the transmission of literature, of history, of song and tradition from the days of old. The Indian Epics will prove to be an immensely fruitful source of inspiration and information to our growing Rajkumars provided they are read with them in the right way by their tutors. This tradition is the conservative principle just as the desire of equipment for necessity and progress is indicative of dynamic tendencies. Society is not content to stand still. We are ambitious and want our children to profit qy our experience. The progress of each century,

of each civilization, requires that the weapons of the past shall be modified and even cast aside if the force of circumstances demands such a thing. The great world war could not have been so successfully waged with the ships of the Elizabethan times. How can the Kumars progress to-day if they are jealously guarded from the wholesome and invigorating influences of persons who are busy making history for them and their country?

Thus in our search for principles in the selection of material and medium of instruction we have arrived at the demand of equipment on the one hand and that of inheritance or tradition on the other. The first is mainly dynamic in its nature while the second is statical in its character. Tradition has preserved culture from age to age but though it may serve as a guide to avoid the rocks and shoals in our onward march it cannot be allowed to smother the other principle which points to the necessity of adaptation to changing environment.

Judged in the light of these considerations the conclusion forces itself on us that the present day education of our Princes is woefully deficient. The curriculum of the Rajkumar Colleges seems deficient to me not only when compared with the standard in other countries but also with the average standard of our own country. The choice of books is not always happily made and cooked up publications at times happen to secure preference over recognised authorities. It is necessary that their studies should develop the mind and character of the Rajkumars.

Such subjects as would render the students more fit to discharge their duties as rulers are almost conspicuous by their absence. A good general education calculated to give sound culture should form the basis of the special training to be imparted to the Kumars. If we ignore the importance of a sound general education up-to the age of sixteen or eighteen the result is mental poverty. Stupidity which is only a synonym of mental poverty makes it impossible for a person to be virtuous. Recognise this fact once and no more words seem necessary to establish the cogency of a prolonged period of general education with the culture element preponderating over the rest of the curriculum. On this basis may be raised the superstructure of the Kumars' training by the teaching of such subiects as the general principles of law and legislation, political economy and comparative history of some of the prominent countries of Europe and Asia and the science of politics. Philosophy of history and society are also subjects of great importance to them and modern languages such as French and German are not less useful than English. The special subjects need not be commenced all at the same time nor should all the youths be required to go through the whole curriculum. It would be possible to teach satisfactorily at least three of the above subjects in three or four years' time. Without these subjects being included in their syllabuses, the Rajkumar Colleges have no *raison d'etre*. The more they teach such important subjects as are required for the art of Government the better they fulfil their function. These institutions should impart general education roughly equal to Intermediate Examina-

tion standard of an Indian University but with special attention to the English language which should be taught throughout as a compulsory second language. Under this arrangement it would be possible for an average student to finish his collegiate education at the age of twenty or twenty-one. But this should not be considered the end of his studies. He would do well to proceed to Europe or America and spend at least a few months in seeing the wide-world and its institutions. Japan should also be included in the tour if convenient and the tourist should make it a point to visit those communities that are fast developing. Institutions in their making no less than nations in their making are worthy of study by those who desire to rule their people wisely and well.

A word about the physical training of the Princes would not be deemed out of place. As it is, the Kumars usually play cricket and foot-ball--excellent games in their own way. But I am afraid neither they nor the riding which is thrown in occasionally is enough for the purpose. Several of these young men should be afforded an opportunity to follow creditably the hereditary vocation of the Kshatriya. It is good that Indians are to be admitted to the commissioned ranks in the army. The number of commissions now thrown open is hopelessly inadequate both from the point of view of the material available and the claim and necessity of a vast and important country like India. Even if ninety commissioned appointments were to be offered to Indians to-day it would be quite easy to get proper persons to fill up

the posts immediately. At least fifty per cent. of the Kumars will look forward to an honourable military career if their education is properly conducted and facilities offered to prove their worth. Riding, shooting, boating, hunting are all manly sports and the scions of our aristocratic families must not be balked of the careers which are pre-eminently theirs by birth and fitness. All the services engaged in the defence of the Empire should be freely thrown open to men of approved worth and no time should be lost in making our Princes' schools and colleges the centres in an appreciable degree of training for the officers' corps. The art of self-defence should be mastered in view to be ready to defend the Empire when the need arises.

A system of national education will demand an adequate provision for the children of the nation. Let it not be hurriedly ruled in the spirit of the levelling tendency that what is good for the Brahmin and the agriculturist is also good for the Prince and the Rajkumar. Each has his special function to discharge in the economy of the State and that is why it is so ardently advocated in these pages even at the cost of repetition that the Rajkumars should be, besides a good general liberal education, given special training to fit them for the discharge of the onerous and responsible duties appertaining to the position of an Indian ruler. Free access to the military, naval and air services of the empire is what is due to them and great and wise rulers like Akbar with characteristic sagacity have shown us the way in which the aspirations of Indian Princes in this direction could be

satisfied without detriment to the interests of the Empire. This is how I hope to get them properly equipped for the battle of life.

A great past is a heavy obligation. It is an obligation to have a proper future. Let it not be said of England by the future historian that her overcautious policy in the East resulted in reducing a great and high-souled people, whose destinies were providentially entrusted to her, to the level of a subject race: but let it be recorded of her that, despite the short-sighted and narrow-minded policy of some of her so-called illustrious men, old England showed no signs of servility but by force of true statesmanship raised a great people sunk in the depths of subjection and superstition to the level of the first-rate nations and that she earned by her just and generous rule a title to glory all her own.

CHAPTER IV.

The Princes' Conference.

We have already shown in the words of Dr. Wilson what the aims and objects of the activities of the Princes should be.

I shall now give my impressions of the work that is being done by the Princes' Conference and leave my readers to judge whether the Princes are proceeding in the right direction or are off the track.

October 29th of the grace year 1916 was a red letter day in the history of the Indian Princes, their States and their people.

It was on that day that the Viceroy of the Great King Emperor of India, on whose Empire the Sun never sets opened the first historic Conference of the Indian Princes of far-reaching potentialities at the Imperial Capital of Delhi in dignified simplicity in the Council Chamber, which too lent itself so admirably to the memorable occasion by its unadorned grandeur. The whole scene was serene and business-like. Outside the Hall there were only a few British Police officers who regulated the traffic well and quietly. Tastefully painted motor cars came noiselessly one by one in quick succession and their distinguished occupants got down as before an opera house, all happy and cheerful as if bent on a holiday. There was no bustle and no fuss.

Relatives of Princes and Officers accompanying them went by another entrance to the gallery showing their tickets of admmission to the Police Officer on duty who assumed all serenity and dignity and with it that characteristic stiffness peculiar to the Service.

The Princes occupied the seats assigned to them and the visitors' gallery was full to over-flowing. The whole assemblage was full of colour such as India alone can present.

The Princes were in their flowing robes and wore different kinds of head-dresses of variegated colours, each according to his taste and fancy. There were some who had observed scrupulous simplicity as is their wont.

There was the Maharaja Gaekwar. one of the premier Princes, one of the earliest Allies of the Honourable East India Company and whose fore bears had in no small degree helped to the establishment of British Power in the Bombay Presidency. There was the Lord of the deserts, the Maharaja of Bikaner, a conspicuous personality, going hither and thither and showing unmistakably, that he was the moving spirit of the Conference and causing perhaps a suppressed feeling of jealousy among some members of his Order and admiration among the visitors in the gallery.

There was Alijah Bahadur the Maharaja Scindia, with whose fore-fathers the British Power had to fight battles for supremacy of no small historical importance. The Maharaja in his usual buoyant

spirit was seen talking here and there, oblivious of any other consideration but that of the success of the work in hand.

There was the keen-eyed tall and slim figure of the Maharaja of Alwar, manifesting clearly that he is as keen a scholar of the present day politics as he is a master Polo-player.

There was the Master of the "Happy Valley" (Cashmere)—musing to himself perhaps on the events to come. There was the Begum of Bhopal under a veil, the only woman Ruler, wise and sagacious in the British Empire, carrying behind her the traditions of generations of successful women Rulers.

There was the stately figure of the Maharaja of Kolhapur with a broad smile, conscious of the heritage that his word (Adnya-Patra) is still respected among the fighting race of Marathas and of his ever-readiness to place himself at the service of the Paramount Power in times of emergency, from his vantage-ground as the representative of the great Shiwaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire. The Maharaja of Patiala, another stately figure, gave signs as if he wanted to be initiated in state-craft. There was the Maharaja of Kooch Behar with the appearance and keenness of a student. There was the Pant Sachiv of Bhor, lately a *recipient* of nine guns salute representing the old order, alas fast disappearing. There was the Maharaja of Jaipur, a representative of the Kshatria House of the renowned solar race hallowed by the great éxploits of his forebear Raja Mansingh.

And there were so many other representatives of the great Ruling Houses, all as ready to do homage to the King Emperor as to adapt themselves to the fast changing circumstances of the times.

A few important Rulers were conspicuous by their absence. It was not to be perhaps expected that His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur, representative of the ancient and most respected Rajput Ruling House in India, hallowed by chivalrous traditions, would condescend to come to Delhi to attend such a Conference, having regard to the family vow of his illustrious forebear. Nor could it be expected that His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad would deign to attend, himself being the Faithful Ally of the King-Emperor. Why His Highness the Maharaja Holkar did not associate himself with the present movement one does not like to surmise. Similarly why the Gold-King, the Maharaja of Mysore, did not join is also a mystery. Perhaps his conspicuousness that he is still more fettered in his freedom than his other brothers, themselves none too free, prevented him from undertaking such a long and tedious journey. Any way he took the fullest advantage of the condition of voluntary attendance at the Conference. Somehow the Conference was not fully representative in its character, and *it will be less* so when by one by one the important Princes cease to take interest in this movement, and when some Princes insist upon excluding some other members of their Order.

Princes lose no occasion to proclaim to the world that they represent the interests of one-third of

India and one-fifth of her population. Will the Princes take care not to lessen their title to this claim to represent such a great interest by a division among themselves? Their true interest lies in taking with them one and all of those who can lay claim to Sovereignty even by an apology. Nay, it will be their interest to carry along with them even the big Zamindars of Bengal and thus open a way to that ideal of federation of Indian States which has been discussed without success so often but which fortunately is to the traditional liking of the people. This is by the way.

As the time was fast approaching there was the feeling of expectancy, and every one was trying to finish his business as fast as he could. Punctually to the minute the Viceroy's arrival was announced by the Usher stentoriously voicing the words 'HIS EXCELLENCY'. And the whole assemblage stood up automatically. not excepting even the venerable Lady. the Begum of Bhopal.

His Excellency after shaking hands in a gracious manner with one and all of the Princes by going to them, delivered his address in a tone which could be heard quite clearly by most of the audience. There was a reply given by His Highness the Gaekwar on behalf of all the Princes. He too read it in a clear and firm tone. After acknowledging the Maharaja Gaekwar's speech the Viceroy retired and the Honourable Mr. Wood took the chair.

There was a suppressed feeling of surprise at this arrangement of the conduct of business. One

could hear a murmur in the gallery that this was the Princes' Conference. It was meant to consider the questions affecting them. The Viceroy's presence was a necessary condition of its success but the Honourable Mr. Wood's taking the chair would tend to officialise the movement, and it was not a happy augury.

If Lord Beaconsfield's imagination brought about the assumption of the title of Empress by the Great Queen Victoria of loving memory and its attendant consequences to the Princes, he could have hardly dreamt that the Princes' homage to the British Rule would develop to this extent and so very rapidly.

But India is a strange land of great contrasts. Anything is possible and no development need astonish anyone. Cobden rightly observed long ago something to this effect that Indians make it possible for us to impose any kind of rule we like on them.

It could be distinctly perceived there was a little murmur only among some old Darbaris who had not forgotten old traditions. The younger generation showed no signs of imagination.

What opinion the majority of the Princes held it is not easy to say even to this day. What opinion can the younger Princes really have? The old ones will always be careful not to let out their opinion lest they might be misunderstood. This is what they have learnt by experience. A pretty large number of Princes is young, and not brought up in old traditions. Their young age forcibly brought to the

mind what a terrible wastage there was in the manhood of Princes indicating that there is something wrong in the surroundings and the upbringing of the sons of Princes.

This was my first occasion of coming in contact without ceremonial observances with a large number of Princes of varying ages and degrees of enlightenment. It was impossible not to be struck, before the Session was closed, with one sad feature that there was suspicion of one another among some of them as among individuals of the Indian gentry. As the Princes manifested on the issues before them an incapacity to think clearly, there is no reason to be wondered at this phenomenon, regrettable as it is. The Indian gentry as well as the Indian Princes are all under the same mental subjection of a great Western Power. And this is the manifest result of that subjection.

With an increase of knowledge and a more intimate contact with one another the present defects will vanish. If the Conference brings forth nothing, it will at least have done one great service that the 'Ring fence'. (in which the Princes were penned so long as a result of the policy of "Isolation") will have been consigned with a sense of shame as a relic of the past barbaric ideals of Government.

Let us now look into the nature of the business transacted during the last three Sessions.

In the first Session there were only three important questions to discuss:—

(1) The ceremonial observed at the Installation and Investiture Darbars in Indian States.

(2) A suitable form of administration to be adopted in an Indian State during the minority of its Ruler.

(3) Education and administrative and moral training of minor Princes and Chiefs.

In the second Session consideration of a suggestion to settle the procedure *inter se* for purely social purposes of Ruling Princes and Chiefs belonging to different Provinces or Administrations was attended to.

In the third Session recommendations made in Chapter X of the Joint Report by His Excellency the Viceroy and his Majesty's Secretary of State for India were considered. There were eight such recommendations; also the question of precedence of Ruling Princes *inter se* at social functions was taken up.

In the coming fourth Session of 1919 following questions will be taken up, viz:—

(1) The resolutions passed by the Conference in January 1919. as agendum (1) item (i) on the subject of the "Line of demarcation" and the composition of the proposed Chamber.

(2) Consideration of the report of the Committee appointed by the last Conference to examine the proposal for the simplification, codification, and standardisation of existing political practice.

Beside the above, other questions were taken up at these Sessions such as for instance in the first Session :—

(a) Realisation of the assets of insolvent debtors,

(b) Consideration of designs and plans for the institution of a Higher Chiefs' College at Delhi.

(c) Control and regulation of motor vehicles brought temporarily, into British India or into Indian States.

(d) Amendment of the practice of paying compensation for land required for railway purposes in British India and Indian States,

(e) Arrangement for the examination of industrial questions in any Indian State by the Indian Industrial Commission and.

(f) The subject of the admission of young men from leading aristocratic families in British India to the Higher Chiefs' College.

In the second Session the following questions were taken up for discussion :—

(*a*) Fixing the status of the Raipur College.

(*b*) The development of agriculture in Indian States.

(*c*) Horse-breeding.

(*d*) Fixing of marks of identification on the motor cars of Ruling Princes and Chiefs when brought into British India.

In the coming Conference the following questions will be discussed :—

(*a*) Securing uniformity in the recording of vital statistics.

(*b*, Co-operation in public health matters: and

(*c*) Co-operation to enable Civil and Revenue Courts in British India to send their decrees for execution to Courts of Indian States.

When one considers the nature of questions pertaining directly to Indian Princes and the others pertaining more or less to administration in general, one is not a little puzzled. The nature of the questions coming under the first category brings forcibly to mind once more the general mistakes committed by Europeans, as I have already alluded to. of dealing with symptoms and not with their basic causes. Most of these questions have arisen only because we don't know exacty what the position of the Rulers of Indian States is in relation to the Imperial Government.

It may once more be remarked that the Princes are in treaty alliance with the King Emperor and the Crown. We have already said that once the harmonious relationship is established, many of the difficulties now experienced and those which are likely to arise will gradually vanish.

It can't be too often impressed on the minds of the Princes that it is their first duty to have their relationship constitutionally established. Constitution and administration are not convertible terms. Constitution is organic life, and it is the free flow of that life-blood which has first to be secured. So long as this is not done, considerations of other questions will amount to only tinkering with the main problem on which all the energy is required to be centered.

If the question of this relationship is not amicably settled before the question of the revision of the present practices is taken up for consideration. I humbly think it may lead the Princes, as it were on the smooth surface of quicksand, and how they will be engulfed in it, no one can foresee !

It may not be inadvisable, even at the risk of repetition, if I were to put forth briefly once more all that has taken place since the introduction of the system of Subsidiary Alliance to guard the Princes against themselves and insist upon their settling first the question of their relations with the King Emperor.

In what I have already written, the primary object has been to bring to the notice of the Prin-

ces in a succinct form the catastrophic change that has been created in their status since they entered into Treaty Alliance with the Honourable East India Company, and to show how ingeniously and cleverly this change has been brought about by astute and intelligent officers of the Company without allowing its being felt irksome by the Princes themselves. The device of Subsidiary Alliance, it will be observed, though insidious in its effect, was calculated to bring about the subjugaton of the Princes with unerring precision and may be said to be the most ingenious instrument that could be forged by the subtle nature of man to carry out the ideal of the former times of increasing the moral or political power of those who put it into operation. It will also give a peep into the working of the minds of such people as look only to the immediate self-interest of their country and of those who have the ultimate good of all at heart. and reveal that the moral power of the English nation resided then as it does now in men of the latter class capable of taking a more sympathetic and broader view of life. It will be perceived that but for such men and the general high standard of morality of the British nation, the Princes would have long ago been in the position of the last Tanjore Raja with palaces to live and liberal pensions to keep up the dignity of the position assigned to them.

The extracts from the evidence of Mr. James Mill taken in 1832 before the Parliamentary enquiry into the affairs of the East India Company will be found of more than ordinary interest to the Princes and will make clear to them that the tussle between

such astute men as Mill and the best of their own men in those days of turmoil and even to-day of peace and quiet is unequal and demands on their part not only greater masterfulness but more concerted action to safeguard their interests.

Since the Princes are at present engaged in discussing questions which they hope may help them to regain their position in however small a manner it is to be hoped my suggestions may prove useful, in pointing out to them the pitfalls from which they may guard themselves.

Reforms are in the air all over the British Empire and India is no exception and the Princes are therefore rightly bestirring themselves not to be behindhand, which is as it should be. In their request for reforms. however. they will do well to remember that their action should not have the semblance of going on "crutches" as has unfortunately been the case so far. due to the inevitable working of the Subsidiary Alliance system.

Their desire to be in line with the general material and moral progress of British India should not blind them to the fact that their States are treated as foreign territories and as such they will have to work out their own salvation in the best way they can, without being overcrowded by others. For this purpose they should make every endeavour to keep the initiative in their own hands.

Since the commencement of the great war there has been a great change in the ideals of Government.

In the past the ideal was of increasing the moral and political power;and the present is of moral and material development or of " productivism " which demands freedom of action which cannot be secured unless there is a radical change in the ideals of the constitution of Government, the administration of which should be conducted by law at every step so as to guard the interest of the State and check the tendencies of Political officials to encroach on the rights of the former. The reign of law is also required to guard the officials against themselves from developing into bureaucrats—a common human failing.

Indian States cannot hope to go back to their former position, nor is that to be desired. What they should hope and strive for is an honourable union with the British nation, and power to beat their own music as other nations are doing, in their own interests and in the interests of the British Empire.

This they can do if they demand reconstruction and a special tribunal, instead of the present unsatisfactory arrangement. The latter therefore should disappear root and branch and not by degrees. if the States are at all to enjoy that hopefulness in life and all that is honourable in man. In the absence of such a position their permanent enslavement is but a logical result of which the whole civilized world is afraid.

I think I have said enough to show in which way the Indian Princes should direct their energy and effort.

May God give them self-confidence and self-reliance, and a spirit to do, dare and achieve.

CHAPTER V.

Reforms Desired.

Before we proceed to discuss this question, let us assume, if at all necessary, the unflinching loyalty of the Indian Princes to the person of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor. Their loyalty is proverbial, and has endured through the stress and strain of the long past. They, as well as the people of British India, have affirmed over and again that British connection with India should be safe-guarded. With these necessary and essential observations we should be permitted to say that the present relations of British Government with the Indian States are capable of improvement having regard to their historic past.

Reforms are wanted more on the ground of principle than that of expediency.

We may briefly state the nature of reforms we desire and we shall explain the reasons presently :—

(1) The present unsatisfactory position of Indian States should be improved ;

(2) The States should be raised from their subordinate position to that of Allies as settled by Treaties, Engagements, etc. :

(3) The relation of the Indian States and British Government should be that of mutual co-operation in the complete sense of the word ;

(4) The States should be placed on a footing of equality with the Self-governing Dominions;

(5) The States should be represented in the Parliament of the Empire or in the Councils of the future and in the Imperial Cabinet for the present;

(6) Indian legislature should have no right to interfere in the relations of the Government with the Indian States:

(7) Instead of the control by the Government of India there should ultimately be that of a Tribunal appointed by the Parliament.

We have already given our reasons for Reforms Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

We have dealt with the third of the above proposals at perhaps a greater length than was intended. The proposal is that the relations of the Indian States with the British Government should be those of Allies in the complete sense of the word. Its importance is self-evident. Unless each part of the human body is allowed to develope to its fullest extent and in harmony with the general well-being of that body, the development can not be said to be sound. And what is true of the human body is true also of the body politic. As in the human body its strength is the stength of its weakest organ and not its aggregate strength, so is the case with the Empire. This will be better appreciated if we allude

briefly to the war position in Mesopotamia. The safety of Mesopotamia is as vital to the security of India as the security of the Belgium coast to that of England. England's greatest strength had necessarily to be utilized as expressed in her grand navy and her four million armed men in the life and death struggle on the Western front, and she could not easily spare men in sufficiently large numbers to protect Mesopotamia. If such an unfortunate eventuality were again to take place, India with her millions of men and vast resources should be in a position not only to stem back the tide but she should also be able to thunder at the gates of the capital of the invading enemy. But what is India's position to day? She is helpless in the midst of plenty; her man-power is immense: her resources are boundless. But both are unorganised and undeveloped. Her assistance is so much talked and made of in England, but what does it come to? Was the money assistance India has given equal to even thirty days expenses of the War? From our poor resources we have of course given generously and we are very grateful that the spirit in which it was given was appreciated. It is like the offer of a meagre fare to Shri Krishna by his poor friend Sudama. Shri Krishna accepted it with gratitude. But this is not the age of mere sentiments. It is the age of fullest development. It is not enough to say that we have done our best under the circumstances. It is a poor consolation for the body if the heart were to stop beating when it should be at its best. It is not enough for India to be only sound in her sentiment but she must be also

sound in her body. Her constitution—her Government, therefore, must be put on a sound basis.

And this leads us naturally to our fourth proposal. Indian States should be put on an equality with the self-governing Dominions. This proposition is so simple in the light of the present economic life and death struggle of the world that it should not be necessary to labour the point as regards maintaining the integrity of Indian States. Their utility to the Empire has been admitted since a long time and especially after the sepoy revolt of 1857. Various statesmen from time to time have spoken of the necessity of heartening, if we may use this expression, the Indian Princes. Before the eyes of Lord Canning their usefulness stood out prominently. Her Majesty the Queen Empress was very solicitous of their well-being. When the Great Queen assumed the title of the Empress the idea of associating the Princes with the Government of India by enlisting their sympathy was put forward by Lord Lytton, the then Governor General and Viceroy. The Princes have been told from time to time that they are "colleagues," "partners," "participators," "instruments" and what not. A mere idea, however good it may be, is not of much value. It is valuable only when it is put into action. Princes, perhaps, like these expressions. They go to add to their "mock majesty" an expression appropriately used by Mr. James Mill who said "nothing is more ridiculous than their (Princes') attachment to their Mock Majesty."

Let there be no more mockery.

The Maharaja of Bikaner, at the Princes' banquet at Delhi once more emphasised the utility and importance of Indian States by quoting with approval from Lord Curzon's speech at Calcutta in 1902, in the presence of the Viceroy and the Members of his Council. In that speech Lord Curzon made a remarkable declaration on the relation of India and England. He said: "We are ordained to walk in the same track together for many a long day to come. You cannot do without us. We should be impotent without you. Let the Englishmen and the Indians accept the consecration of a union so mysterious as to have in it something of the Divine and let our common ideal be a united country and a happier people."

How is the country to be "united" and people to be "happier"? The solution is simple. Indian States should be given the same sort of autonomy as the Dominions. Indian politicians talk loosely of the pattern of colonial administration. We have the colonial administration of Ceylon near at hand. We certainly don't want that. It would not meet the present day requirements, and this we shall see by referring to the proceedings of Brussels Conference of the Science of Administration.

Mr. Tibbant in his closing address was able to point out to one general feature of the situation which is to be found to a greater or less degree in all of them. He said: "Every age has its own mentality, which affects every department of life. Our century is profoundly influenced by the atmosphere of intense activity which has been created by Industrialism, which administrative power cannot

escape inspite of the distance which separates administration from industry, inspite of the natural difference of their organisation and their procedure",

"Industry looks for success in the perfecting of its work, and in the constant lowering of the cost price". * * * * * " * *

* * Does a similar spirit exist in administration? * *

* * * And the Congress has been unanimous in deciding that administration shall follow the current of the age, that it shall constantly renew its life and shall seek for its organisation and its work those improvements and those stimulants which are appropriate to its special mission". "Administration is in possession of an enormous power and is capable of exercising a decisive influence on the destinies of the country and on its economic and social progress. If in its direction and in all its mechanism, it shows a spirit of initiative, if it provokes, assists and encourages action in all directions it becomes a motive force which is beneficial and which does honour to its country".

"If on the other hand, it is inert, slow, hampered by red tape, animated by a spirit of routine, hyper-critical or vexatiously meddlesome, it becomes sterile and harmful. Not only does it fail in its mission, but it drags with a dead weight on the march of progress".

We have taken some pains to quote the opinions of old authorities who regulated the destinies of Indian States and shown from the trend of events how

their almost prophetic observations have been more than realised. The significance of the closing words of Mr. Tibbant we have no doubt, will go to the heart of every Prince and his officials. The present political administration may be said to be " sterile and harmful ".

What is it that the princes have to do? They may ask for reforms. With it however does not end their duty towards themselves and their people and the British Empire. If they really want to have autonomy in their own sphere they must work for it. One does not get more than he deserves It should also be well borne in mind that the English people never give away anything unless they see the necessity of it. This lesson they learnt from their own past history. They will give powers to those who will use those powers well. The Princes should try to obtain "good government" and good constitution and " the less intermediary " machinery. If they succeed in this they should be satisfied. It will secure them perfect autonomy as the Dominions enjoy.

Now we can proceed with the fifth proposal.

The States should be represented in the Parliament of the Empire or in the Councils of the future and for the present in the Cabinet of the Empire. The importance of this proposition should be self-evident. The Prime Minister of England, Mr. Lloyd George has already promised that India will be represented on the Cabinet of the Empire along with the self-governing Colonies and Dominions. It is, however, necessary that the interest of the Indian

Princes should also be separately represented in that Cabinet. And this is all the more necessary since it not infrequently happens that the behests of the Government of England are not faithfully carried out by their agents in India. This may appear rather strange, but it is a fact. This will be clearly seen by referring to Mr. James Mill's evidence which has been already referred to so many times.

Question :—"Has it not been rather the disposition of the Indian Government lately to restore the Princes to their sway, to leave them to themselves, than to carry the interference further, and extend it ?—The instructions sent from England have been very strong against interference, and against extending our relations at all. Both the British legislature and the East India Company have declared strongly against extending our conquests, but every now and then it has happened that those conquests were pressed on the British Indian rulers by a species of necessity. All our wars cannot perhaps be, with propriety, considered wars of necessity* * *. There being a certain anticipation on the part of the conquering Government that the avowed conquest, taking in short the Government of the acquired territory, simply and frankly, as we took all the military power into our own hands, would raise a storm of indignation in England and this assurance they can only have by the Princes' united action and sustained effort. They must take intelligent interest in their own administration and try to improve it on the approved modern lines." We may be pardoned to say that it is this negligence on their part to

observe the essential principles of good administration which is responsible for much of the interference on the part of the Political officer of which they complain and it is this condition which is also responsible for developing the Political officer into a bureaucrat.

Mr. G. Montague Harris in his book "Problems of Local Government" has well pointed out how bureaucracy about which there is such a loud cry all over India developed. He says: "How essential it is to disabuse the general public of the idea that the only persons who need concern themselves with these questions of administration are the administrators. It is most strange that in this country (England) of all others where there exists at the same time a real pride in our representative council and a hatred of officialism, this attitude of mind should so largely prevail, yet that it does so is obvious from the amazing ignorance of our local government system which prevails among even the well educated sections of the population * * *. Those who cry the loudest usually understand least the considerations of which they complain and are the last to lend a hand to effect any reforms. It is this attitude and not the increase of officials which leads to bureaucracy. Every official may have in him the making of a bureaucrat unless the administrees (to adopt a word from the French) by shirking their part cast upon him the whole burden of Government."

My object mainly is to point out the cause of the present unsatisfactory position of the Indian

States and to distinguish it from the unerring results which it has produced. The ideal of the present age is "Productivism". To realise this ideal it is necessary, to put it in Mr. M. G. Montague Harris' words "in every sphere to obtain the maximum of return with the minimum of effort * * to simplify this mechanism and to give to the direction such an impelling force as will make itself felt unhindered to the extremities of the organism."

"Administration is, as has been many times pointed out in the course of the Brussels Congress, not an end in itself, but only a means to an end, the end of good government and order. The less machinery required to attain that end the better."

Now, with regard to the sixth proposal—Indian Legislature should have no right to interfere in the relations of the Government with the Indian States.

The proposal is obvious. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda in his speech at the first Princes' Conference at Delhi said "We have no desire to encroach upon the affairs of British India any more than we want any body outside our States to interfere with the affairs of our States." H. E. the Viceroy also said in his address to the Princes to the same effect that the Princes should have no right to interfere with the affairs of British India.

Indian States have been treated as foreign territories and they cannot therefore be affected by the British Indian Legislature. In this connection Sir

William Lee-Warner has made a point of this one feature common to all the States, although they all are parts of India. Thus all the States from Hyderabad downwards to those comprising a few *Bighas* of land in Kathiawar are but foreign territories and they are outside the scope of the British Indian Legislature. The latter can have no connection with those who enjoy immunity from British taxation and exercise some shadow of judicial authority as illustrated in Ilbert's "Government of India".

Again, under "Treaty rights" of the Princes and States in India in alliance with the Company as they were denominated in the Parliamentary Statute of 1833 in the days of the East India Company or "alliance with her Majesty" as in later Statutes there can be no connection of the States with the British Indian Legislature. The Government of India Act of 1858, Statutes 21 and 22 Vict., Ch. 106. Sec. 67 enacted, that "All treaties made by the East India Company shall be binding on Her Majesty." This has been further emphasised in the Indian Councils' Act of 1861 (24 & 25 Vict., Ch. 67) which created the Indian Legislature, in Sec. 22 where a specific provision is made that "The Governor General in Council shall not have the power of making any laws or regulations which shall repeal or in any way affect any provisions of the Government of India Act, 1858." In the Government of India Act, 1915, (5 & 6 Sec. 5, Ch. 1, Sec. 65) the same restriction is repeated.

To further illustrate this isolation of Indian States we may give a quotation from Lee-Warner's

"Protected Princes of India," Ch. XIII 136—"The Indian Legislature has no power to legislate for those who are not subjects or servants of His Majesty and reside or are in foreign territory."

It will easily be perceived why the Congress politicians did not include the Indian States in their scheme of reform. They very well know that the States were treated as foreign territories by the British Government. If the Congress leaders had included them in their scheme they would have exposed themselves to the ridicule of the Political department and also to the well deserved censure of the Princes for an attempt on their part to deprive them of what little sovereignty they share with the Government of His Majesty the King Emperor.

It is hardly necessary to pursue the point further.

Now, we come to the last proposal but not the least in importance. It is in fact the most important proposal. It is that "Instead of the control of the Government of India over them it should ultimately be that of a Tribunal appointed by the Parliament."

If we were but to carefully analyse the causes of the degradation of Indian States it will be observed that, the most potent cause was the absence of a special Tribunal to protect the rights and privileges of the States against the constant encroachments of the central administration. We have already shown how an administration is liable to go beyond its legitimate bounds even in a country like Great Britain where free institutions flourish as no where else

in the world. Even there the officials have a tendency to become bureaucrats and the necessity is felt to curb them from encroaching on the liberties of the people. This tendency is common in the men in power all over the world. India has therefore no special ground to complain. Even in France where administration is carried on more scientifically and where it is of the people for the people and by the people, this tendency was not less marked till of recent years.

In the Brussels Conference of 1910 this question was hotly discussed. It is hardly necessary to quote what different officials had to say on this important point. We may, however, give only a few extracts to show the general trend of discussion as it will be helpful to us in urging the adoption of the proposal of a special Tribunal to the notice of Government.

We may say without fear of contradiction that it is the experience of many Princes that they cannot carry out reforms in their own way but they are often thwarted by their Political officers. The result of such interference is but one, *viz.*, of disgust and apathy. Complete freedom or decentralisation of powers is the only remedy to remove this crying evil. In this connection M. L. Fur, an eminent politician of France, says "that decentralisation would be nothing but a name if the action taken by the decentralised bodies could be, apart from any question of illegality, annulled or altered by the agents of the central power."

Many of the Princes will easily recall to their mind how far the non-interference policy in the internal administration of their States is faithfully carried out. It is perhaps observed more in its breach. We cannot however emphasize too often that it is more the system than the agents, which is responsible for the unfortunate result. It is the system therefore which requires to be improved root and branch and not by degrees or what is wrongly called by the gradual process of evolution. There is no such thing as evolution in such things ?. A system introduced under misconceptions must disappear bodily when the correct knowledge supersedes them. We try to apply a correct and prompt remedy in case of an ailment and the same rule should be observed in this case also.

We have already said that, in India the administration has developed into Government and it is responsible to no one. It is not possible for any official to be an administrator and a judge at the same time. And the Political officer is no exception of this general rule.

Indian States suffer in a variety of ways owing to this unnatural combination of powers in the Political officer. We may give only one instance. The States especially in Central India and Baroda have had to put up with a good deal of unpleasantness in connection with what are known as guaranteed and Giras cases. Lord Selbourne's ideal of the Empire to which we have already referred of introducing equality as one of the aims of the Government is

carried to perfection in the treatment of these cases. Unfortunately there is no equality in nature. Our five fingers are not of equal length. Under this principle of introducing equality four fingers will find no place if the thumb is taken as an index. They will have to be cut away. Allies have been reduced to the position of their own feudatories. What mischief this tendency has played does not require to be detailed.

Protection against this "levelling" policy can be afforded only by a body in an independent judicial position, that is to say, by an independent Tribunal appointed by Parliament.

CHAPTER VI.

Forebodings about the Chamber of Princes,

His Excellency the Viceroy announced recently in the last session of the Princes' Conference that he is now in a position to say that the Chamber of Princes is established temporarily, and that it will soon be made permanent. In the opening speech His Excellency said as follows:—

"I am glad to be able to announce to Your Highnesses the intention of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to call into being a permanent Chamber of Princes, although I must ask you to regard this announcement as merely a preliminary statement of intention. The formal establishment and recognition of the Chamber must be reserved for a later date, when the details of its constitution and functions have been worked out."

This announcement gladdened the hearts of some Princes, of those who had tried their best to bring about the creation of this institution, and also of those who saw in it an opportunity for the first time, of getting over quietly the defects in their status and position, and sitting along with their Suzerains on terms of equality, a condition their wildest dreams had not dared to conceive only five years ago. To some, however, the announcement was not equally pleasant. If those who were pleased saw in this Chamber a means to safe-guard their interests, others were not slow to perceive, that this very means was likely to affect their interests adversely.

It is a happy sign of the times that the Princes have begun to think for themselves, as such a condition alone will afford the necessary check against going headlong with so important a political measure without proper circumspection. It cannot be denied that before the Viceroy secured the assent of the Secretary of State for India the Princes were not given a sufficient opportunity to express their opinion on so important a subject as will be easily seen from his speech. His Excellency says:—

"As regards the functions of the Chamber and the Rules of business, which should regulate its procedure, I would remind Your Highnesses that, although there is a strong and influential body of opinion in favour of the Chamber, yet at the time of the last Conference the Princes and Chiefs were not unanimous in their desire for the institution of a more formal assemblage than our annual meetings. The Chamber will have to justify its existence and win its spurs. I have expressed the view on more than one occasion that the Chamber must evolve gradually on lines which experience may show to be best suited to its healthy growth and that it is important to avoid unnecessary restrictions or complications at the outset."

It appears from the King Emperor's recent Proclamation that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will formally inaugarate the Chamber of Princes which means that before that time its constitution will have been fixed.

It is unfortunate that such an important measure should have been announced without obtaining the views of those who are vitally affected by it, and without giving an opportunity to the public to discuss it.

Even the new Reforms Act was passed after more than two years' discussion by the public, when there was no question that the new Act was an improvement upon the old. The question there was what measure of improvement—greater or less—was to be introduced. But in the matter of the Chamber the question of improvement or betterment was not unanimously accepted. On the contrary, an influential section was distinctly against it. In these circumstances it was necessary for the Government to have given at least an equal time for the Princes and their people and also the general British public to formulate their views and ventilate them. But without such valuable guidance the Government have announced the formal inauguration of the Chamber. The gravity of this measure, however, compels us to state our views so that even at this late stage the Government may consider them before finally settling the constitution of the Chamber. Our love and interest for the Indian States make us very anxious to see that this measure does not become a failure which it is bound to be if an influential and important section of the Indian Allies abstains from joining it.

Since there is a difference of opinion among the Princes themselves of the utility of the establishment of the Chamber, and it cannot be presumed, that

there is also a unanimity of opinion among the experienced officers of the Political Department, the question naturally arises, whether the Chamber should be brought into being, when opinion is so divided. A measure of this import with which the name of His Royal Highness, our future Emperor, will be associated in the fulness of time should be such as should be acclaimed by all concerned. It should be a great boon and a mile-stone in the progress of India and a great land-mark in the relations of the British Government with the Indian States. If such a unanimity of opinion of heartfelt gratitude cannot be secured, and it cannot be too often repeated, there is no unanimity, it behoves Government to pause and ponder instead of taking a leap in the dark, which they unfortunately are doing. to the consternation of all those who have the good of the Indian States and British Government at heart, and to the delight of the extremist politicians in India.

In cannot be conceived that the Goverment is not aware that ridicule is already being poured at this institution by prominent men in India. They say this is a meeting place for the Princes where high and low sounding speeches are made about nothing of importance, and no one pays any heed to their resolutions. Can it be said that they are quite wrong in this attitude of theirs, when they notice that more important Princes abstain from joining the Chamber ? And these Princes not only occupy a high place in the estimation of the general public in India, but they are also known outside India. Take for instance, His Exalted Highness the Nizam. In the Mahommedan world of India

and even outside he is held in great esteem. Would not the Nizam's abstaining from the Chamber delight the Mahomedans in their present temper on the Khilafat question? Then think of the Gaekwar and the Holkar. These are the names to conjure with among the Marathas, and the latter are spread over one-third of India. And who can forget the renowned House of Udaipur held in reverence among the Rajputs? Then there is the progressive State of Mysore to which the Southern India looks for light and leading. There is the Maharaja Scindia, another great Maratha potentate. Though he has joined the Conference whole-heartedly, it cannot be conceived that he will be able to keep up his enthusiasm when he realises or is made to realise that he has lost his predominating position in Central India by too much leaning towards Government. If he even out of policy keeps up appearances, it will be impossible for his nobles and sardars to keep up that equanimity of mind when they find that the British Government treats their idol Madhawa Maharaj on the same footing as the Raja of Sitamau, who, till yesterday, was treated by them as a tributary of theirs. The Viceroy may satisfy himself by saying that a mere payment of tribute does not create a subordinate position.

In his speech the Viceroy said as follows:—

"In this connection, I must also reiterate what I said in my last speech, namely, that it would not of course be appropriate to regard mere payments originally of a tributary nature, made by one State to another, as necessarily constituting feudatory relations."

But it is impossible for interested people to accept such an interpretation even coming as it does from the representative of the King Emperor. To them facts are stronger. The very fact that a tribute is exacted is a sufficient proof of subordination to the rude but clear intellect of the man in the street.

Is the Government not going to take note of this state of things? Are they prepared to face all the consequences of an act to which our future King Emperor is going to be made a party? It behoves all concerned to associate the name of his Royal Highness only to such an act as will be hailed with joy and delight and gratefulness, as the Proclamation of his Great Grand-mother, the Great Queen Victoria, is held even to-day by every one in India.

We shall have to discuss why it is that the feeling of diffidence is slowly but surely creeping in British India and in the Indian States with regard to the ultimate success of the Chamber of Princes. When inaugurated as an informal Conference of Princes, many thought it would have a great ana beneficial influence on the Indian Empire. But the later developments turning it into a formal Chamber giving equality ol status and power to all, irrespective of their position and treaty rights, have raised serious doubts about its success in the minds of those who are best able to judge about its utility and functions.

We shall have,therefore, to discuss this question very frankly, in fact brutally frankly, as we consider Government should know the other side quite clearly.

We shall have to observe the same frankness as a client has to observe before his solicitor, or a patient before his doctor when he thinks he is affected by an incurable malady.

We shall first deal with the history of similar movements in the past of associating the Indian Princes with Government in the difficult task of administration, that show how the feeling of want of confidence has been engendered from the time the Princes came in contact with the British Power in spite of several attempts of high British officials to create a feeling of confidence, and finally to point out how to get over the present difficulty by a compromise to make the Chamber a success, at least for the present, leaving the future development on the laps of Gods.

The idea of securing co-operation of the Indian Princes in the administration of the Indian Empire is of long standing. It was first mooted when the Great Queen Victoria assumed the title of the Empress of India. An Imperial Privy Council was brought into being to advise the Government of India. Lord Lytton had to give it up. Again it was, we think, taken up in Lord Curzon's time and it had again to be given up. In Lord Minto's time too it was again considered. This time the proposal was of having an "Imperial Advisory Council", based on the interesting and attractive idea of associating Ruling Chiefs and territorial magnates of British India in the guardianship of common Imperial interests and as a

means of promoting more intimate relations among the component parts of the Indian Empire.

It had to be dropped being unpractical. The reason being "the majority of Ruling Chiefs" and "nearly all the Political Officers" were "opposed to the formation of a Council on which the Ruling Chiefs and territorial magnates would sit together" and the other objections were that the Chiefs had "no knowledge of the conditions of British India", while the magnates were "out of touch with the people".

There was also then the proposal of an 'Imperial Council, composed only of Indian Princes to a limited number for advising the Government of India on questions of an Imperial character, but some of the more important Princes disliked" the idea of collective consultation", hinted "at difficulties of precedence among themselves", and considered "free discussion to be only possible among equals". The Princes expressed a preference for consultation by letter and did not wish "to be invited to attend meetings, both for the personal reasons" (precedence etc.)" and because of the expense and inconvenience and the interruption of their regular administrative work."

Lord Minto agreed that there was much force in these objections and Lord Morley too took the same viewand observed that it would "be a mistake to push the project, unless it commands the clear assent and approval of those whose presence in the Council would be essential to its success".

It cannot be said, that the difficulties experienced in Lord Minto's time have disappeared. Again, there is no differernce in the character of the role the Princes and Chiefs were expected to fill in the economy of British Administration then and now. Is there any wonder therfore that the same old difficulties now stand before us perhaps in a different garb, on account of the changed conditions of times? The once slow moving East has accelerated her pace of progress and the difficulties will be the more keenly felt when responsible Government on progressive lines is introduced in British India. and when the British Indian politicians begin to take inteiest in the affairs of Indian States. If the Princes wish therefore to work out their own destiny in their own way who can say they are not wise? Freedom is a necessary condition for progress and they don't wish to barter it for the supposed advantages of a constitution.

These three failures, instead of discouraging, braced the British statesmen and once more with a greater hope of success they have launched on the long cherished scheme and ushered in the Conference of Princes in the grace year 1916.

This time the idea was taken up perhaps because of the suggestion of some Ruling Princes and Chiefs, that there should be an institution of this character to safeguard their interests and rights in view of certain political reforms contemplated for British India.

Personally we are doubtful of the wisdom of the step taken. First, there would not be many que*stio*

for discussion in the Chamber year after year of general interest for the States and British Government and of this already signs are not wanting. Secondly, there will be the delicate question of the line of 'demarcation' whom to admit and whom not to admit in the Chamber. The settlement of this question will cause unnecessary heart-burning and of this too signs are not wanting. And thirdly, there will be the question of formulating a constitution for the Chamber.

The word Chamber will make a section of the more important Princes to fight shy of the movement and quite naturally too. "Once bitten twice shy"—is an old proverb and the Princes and Chiefs cannot afford to be unmindful when they know that they are not strong enough to resist the pressure of the highly organised British Government.

When the scheme of a Conference was formulated by the Government and the Princes' opinions were invited, the more important of them were not in its favour entirely and they so expressed their opinions. Some of them from the very commencement abstained from joining in the movement and others who joined it are getting slowly lukewarm in their adherence. In fact, it would not be surprising if in course of time they too entirely severed their connection. They one and all must have cogent reasons.

Since the institution of the Chamber of Princes is meant for the good of the Princes and Chiefs and the Indian Empire, it is necessary that all the Princes and Chiefs should join hands with the

Goverment. When some of the Princes do not join it—and of this there remains now no doubt it is necessary to examine the causes dispassionately to be able to arrive at a fair understanding.

In examinining the question let us first consider why it is that the Government has selected the present moment for introducing the reform? Was the year 1916 the proper time to undertake the scheme? For any undertaking of importance a psychological moment has to come. Were the conditions then so very favourable? It is not easy to point out a cause or causes, which induced the Government to think that the scheme should be taken up in hand. It is perhaps because of the tide of Democracy rising in British India, that Government thought that the Indian States should also advance in line with the tide. For the general progress of India as a whole, the Government deemed it necessary to take the Princes, out of the 'Ring Fence.' The historical truth should however be borne in mind that there is nothing more convenient and nothing more fallacious than to attribute great events, and the establishment of the Conference of Princes is a great event, to a single cause.

Whatever may be the cause or causes, if this is to be the Conference of Princes all the Princes should join it. But as a matter of fact, all have not joined it. If they had seen it was as much to their benefit as to that of the Indian Empire they would have surely joined it. It is reported that His Exalted Highness the Nizam said that he feels he can

always approach the Viceroy in any matter and, if absolutely necessary, would appeal to His Majesty's Secretary of State or to the British Parliament and he is still of opinion that this course is better suited to his dignity as the Sovereign of the Premier Native State in India than entrusting his case to the representatives of States to be discussed in public.

And this expression of the Nizam's opinion is even after the publication of the Joint Report of Reforms. Since the Nizam is treated as the Faithful Ally he naturally thinks himself to be superior to others and therefore he does not wish to join with the crowd of Princes. If the other important Princes follow the same principle of isolation, they also will be within their rights. They too are faithful Allies of the British Government and it cannot be said that they are in any way different from the Nizam in their relations with the British Government. Some of them enjoy, like the Nizam, twenty-one guns salute. There is the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda who is next the Nizam in his status. If the latter entered into an alliance with the British Government, so did the former in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Why should the Gaekwar consider himself in any way different from the Nizam and not follow his example of isolation? If the Nizam has been of use to the Government who can forget the services of the House of the Gaekwar especially in the time of the Sepoy Mutiny? But for Baroda what would have been the consequences in the Bombay Presidency? But for the Gaekwar the British Government would have found difficult to

get a hold on the Bombay Presidency so quickly in the beginning.

It will not be easy to get over such a chain of arguments. As is well put by a great writer there is a marked gradation in each Society in India—and the Princes are a caste by themselves. They have a wonderful gradation accentuated by a variety of circumstances as of Treaties and Engagements and further accentuated by the period in which they were made. It will be most difficult to unravel the tangled web of their position and status and to put it on a rational basis as will be satisfactory to all concerned and make them join the Chamber with hope and courage.

His Exalted Highness has based his conclusion. it may be admitted, on very sound arguments. The arguments are so sound that they arrest attention. It is these arguments really—and they apply to most of the important Treaty States—which not only do not hearten more important Princes to join the movement but make them diffident having regard probably to their past history.

His Exalted Highness thinks so far as he is concerned he should not like any question affecting his State being determined on the advice of other Ruling Princes or of their representatives, Hindus or Mahomedans. He further argues that he is inclined to think that if the procedure was adopted it will contravene the essential principles that each Prince is a Sovereign who is entitled to conduct his business direct with the British Government without the

intervention of other Indian States or of any Legislative Assemblies of British India. There are, he thinks, as many as six hundred Indian States varying from great dominions down to small territories of a few square miles each. He imagines there is no great similarity between any two States as regards their origin and historical relations with the British Government or their political development. It seems to him therefore that it would be difficult for any one Ruling Prince to represent the rest as far as internal affairs are concerned. Personally he adds Hyderabad has nothing to gain by asking for an alteration in the present system with regard to the relations between the State and the Viceroy and that he has free access to the Viceroy (who is always an eminent English nobleman), and that he can approach him through the Resident who corresponds generally with the King's ambassador at the Court of a European Sovereign.

When we look into the history of relations of the Nizam with the British Government one does not wonder why he wants to keep himself aloof. According to a recent issue of the Civil and Military Gazette His Exalted Highness it seems has once more raised the thorny and vexatious question of the cessation of the Berars.

If the question of contribution for the Military defence of India be taken up for discussion in the Conference,—which is not unlikely to be very soon, and the question of such cessation of territories be dragged in—there are other Princes besides the Nizam, for example, the Gaekwar of Baroda and the Maharaja

Scindia who have had to cede territories for Subsidiary and Contingent troops—it will be difficult for the Princes assembled, to arrive at a correct understanding of this question. The reason is quite simple. There is no similarity between any two States as regards the origin and historical relations with the British Government or their political development.

Leaving aside the Princes who have not joined the Conference. let us try to know the feelings of the more important Princes who have joined it. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar says something to the effect that the proposal to institute an Advisory Council of Princes does not commend itself to him: and that in connection with the scheme of the Council of Notables which was proposed at the time of the Morley-Minto Reforms he was of opinion that a merely ornamental advisory body would scarcely be a useful organ. Who can deny the soundness of this argument from the business point of view? Administration must be treated as a great business concern inspite of the material difference between their respective organization and procedure. If an administration is inert, slow, hampered by red-tape, animated by a spirit of routine. hyper-critical or vexatiously meddlesome, it becomes sterile and harmful. Not only does it fail in its mission, but it drags with a dead-weight on the march of progress.

This expression of opinion of the Maharaja Gaekwar is indicative of the general feeling of some of the important Princes with regard to the usefulness of the Chamber. It may be remarked, however,

that the Maharaja Gaekwar does not entirely dissociate himself from the movement as he had attended the first two sessions of the Conference.

With the progress of time, having regard to the working of the Conference, the fears entertained by some Princes are being slowly realised. They say by the form of numerical representation the larger and more progressive States will not wield their legitimate influence in the Assembly, at all events not to the extent of their importance or commensurate with their population or magnitude of their interests. The largest of the most advanced States gets the same representation as the smallest or the most backward ; and that some of the Princes may not care to expose themselves to criticism by taking sides on current public questions. For these and other reasons the Council will not correctly represent the views and interests of all the Indian States.

Let us first of all however assume that the scheme is primarily meant for the benefit of the Princes and also for the general progress of India.

Before accepting the scheme whole-heartedly the Princes and Chiefs have again to draw inspiration and courage from the lessons of the past. They are diffident because they are not able to realise what the ultimate effect of this measure will be as regards their well being. Can they be blamed for this attitude of mind ? Is the past so encouraging ? We cannot do better than look to the past gracious act of the Sovereign of England towards India viz., the Proclamation of 1858. This Proclamation is in

truth the magna charta of British Indians and of the Indian Princes—not extorted from a cowardly tyrant but freely granted by a gracious Lady Ruler and the lawful Sovereign of freeborn men to her willing subjects.

On closer observation the resemblance between that " Magna Charta " and this other will be found to be only superficial. The one was the fruit of the force of circumstances, the other, as already described, is a free boon from the generous heart of a Queen-Mother ; the one conferred distinct rights and explicitly recognised existing ones, the other merely enunciated the intention underlying the relations to continue between the British Government and the Indian Allies.

In India this distinction unfortunately is not generally appreciated. Probably there will be lesser room for discontent if people understood their position properly.

It is hardly necessary to notice how far the terms of the Proclamation have been fulfilled. One need not, however, wonder at the failure or accuse any one of bad faith. And this will be the more plain when we take human nature into consideration. In dealing with politics, as in all human affairs, it is wrong to be guided by abstract analysis. We should not forget human nature and its history.

When we take into consideration the events that have followed the Proclamation and similar

assurances given from time to time, we shall easily notice that something does interfere and has interfered with the fulfilment of every single precious pledge which the Proclamation contains.

We can take for granted as a lesson of history that there never was a right thing done (and never will be) but some wrong one has fought with it and sought to strangle it from the first.

Correctly speaking, it would not be wrong if it be said that there was not a single pledge in the Proclamation that has not been made in the most solemn way before and as regularly broken. Why were the same words used in one sense for the Queen of England, in another for her Indian Allies. The attempt made at times in drawing fine distinctions in the terms of Treaties is wonderful but not one to be admired or quietly gulped down, In the annals of the Political history of India the chapter of the annexation policy is most regrettable. Let amends be made even now and no more hair-splitting of words be attempted. The Indian Princes have kept up their true allegiance when the most solemn guarantees have been set at naught.

Though it may be admitted that the Princes were powerless and so they could not help but keep the true allegiance, at the same time it cannot be denied that there is a great deal of difference between sullen acquiescence and willing performance. How well the Princes behaved during the Sepoy Mutiny! As regards their support in the recent titanic war,

the facts are too recent and well known to bear repetition.

If the Princes are diffident to join the Conference is there any wonder when they find,

(*a*) that the larger and more progressive States will not wield their legitimate influence in the Assembly ;

(*b*) that the biggest or the most advanced States will be placed on the same footing as the smallest or the most backward :

(*c*) that all the Ruling Princes may not be able to visit Delhi : and their position as Sovereign Princes will place them at a disadvantage for the discussion of political questions.

May we not read these objections in the light of what has taken place in the last Session ? All the Princes have been classed into two broad divisions ;

(a) The Ruling Princes ; and

(b) Chiefs.

The distinguishing features of the Sovereign Princes has been quietly removed and it is meant now to treat all Princes alike which they are not.

All the fears of the Subsidiary Alliance System are standing before the minds of those Princes who are now on the point of losing their distinctive position because the spirit of a " levelling down " system

is likely to be unconsciously imposed on a combined panel of Princes.

Why not follow a more rational process of maintaining the high position of some of the Sovereign Princes as the Allies of the King Emperor which they were when they entered into Treaties of Alliance or Amity (rather a curious distinction) and which they still consider themselves to be ?

The Nizam stuck to the expression of his being the "Faithful Ally" and has won his point. Perseverence has had its reward. If the other Princes have committed a mistake in not being equally tenacious they may even now summon up courage to dare to act to the terms of their Treaties. They must have self-confidence and self-reliance, a spirit to do, dare and achieve. In politics as in education, the maxim is, keep repeating. So says F. Murdoch L.L.D. How true !

Probably Government have not foreseen the thorny path which they will soon have to tread again. Perhaps, unwittingly also the system is being imposed on the panel of Princes.

It is quite true that the Viceroy does not lose an opportunity to assure the Princes that the Treaty engagements will be always respected. The Great Queen Victoria has also pledged her word in the following significant language :—

" We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and Engagements made with them by or made under the authority of the

Honourable East India Company, are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained".

We have already pointed out the reason why the fulfilment of pledges given in the Proclamation has not been possible. History will always repeat itself. Human nature has not changed much during the last three thousand years as Robert Wallace well put it, and it is not likely to during our life time. The reason for this is simple. John Stuart Mill has well expressed: "There is no subject on which there is not a great habitual difference of judgment between a man judging for himself and the same man judging for other peoples. He has quite a different standard of judgment when he is deciding for himself. It is a striking fact that the satisfaction and mortification of personal pride, though all in all to most men when the case is their own, have less allowance made for them in the case of other people and are less listened to as a ground or justification of conduct than any other actual feeling."

And how beautifully this is verified if we but for a moment recall to our mind the recent broad classification of the Indian Princes and Chiefs. It is done at one stroke of the pen and yet this very question was considered till quite recently extremely difficult of solution. Take again the question of codification of past practices. Will it not also be settled in a broad business like manner, of course ignoring for the time being the question of the sentiment of the Princes. It should be remembered however, that it is the sentiment which moves mountains. It is not easy for

many officials to realise the depth of the Princes' sentiments on certain points. If some of the officials took advantage of the 'fruit of conquest' others are not wanting to take advantage of the 'fruit of policy'.

The "*Times*" in a recent article has indicated the manner in which all Treaties and Engagements should be interpreted.

But we are afraid that this will be a cry in the wilderness. This is not the first time that such a pious wish has been expressed. There have been several authoritative pronouncements in this respect. If they have not been respected the reason is that the Princes and Chiefs have not made an organised effort to get the wrong righted. We may quote the pronouncement of Lord Hastings, who perhaps made more Treaties than any other Officer. Addressing the Nawab of Karnatic he wrote as follows :—

"A Treaty plighted the public faith of a nation, so that it must be my duty to maintain its terms according to their true spirit, which ought always to be construed most favourably for the party whose sole dependence was on the honour of the other".

We know how practices have been developed. We cannot do better than again quote from the private journal of Lord Hastings which he kept as Governor General. He observes :—

"In our Treaties with them we recognise them as independent Sovereigns. Then we send a Resident

to their Courts. Instead of acting in the character of ambassador, he assumes the function of a dictator; interferes in all their private concerns; countenances refractory subjects against them; and makes the most ostentatious exhibitions of the exercise of authority. To secure to himself the support of our Government, he urges some interest, which under the colour thrown upon it by him, is strenuously taken up by our Council; and the Government identifies itself with the Resident not only on the single point but on the whole tenor of his conduct. In nothing do we violate the feelings of the Native Princes so much as in the decisions we claim the privilege of pronouncing with regard to the succession to the Musnad."

In this manner the practices have come in vogue. The Codification Committee is trying hard to study them. Why should not the Government adopt the generous attitude as indicated by Lord Hastings instead of examining individual practices? First, fix the principle and see whether the practices are consonant with those principles. In other words, fix the principles and then descend to the facts to find out whether the principles enunciated are observed in practice. We may liken the political relations of the Indian Princes with the British Government to a Hindu married couple. The position of the husband is superior but the wife has the right to share in the joys and sorrows. There is full confidence and unity of interest on terms of equal partnership.

And there is the greater reason for so doing, at least now when the responsibility of the Princes and Chiefs in copartnership with the British Government has been extended even beyond the borders of India. This contingency was hardly contemplated when the Treaties and Engagements were made over a century ago. This new responsibility was willingly discharged as witnessed by their whole-hearted support in the recent life and death struggle in the war with Germany and her allies. The Princes and Chiefs have truly acted as Allies of the British Government and in all fairness, therefore, they deserve to be treated as Allies and nothing less than that.

So long as this is not done the grievances of the Princes will continue. They shall have to submit to fate but they cannot forget the wrong. The wrong will be nursed from generation to generation. An instance may be cited to illusrtate this, painful through it be. It has already been pointed out that His Exalted Highness the Nizam does not wañt to join the Conference. Is it only for the reasons given out ? No. The reason may lie much deeper.

The Nizam was given to understand by the Governor General when the Berars was wrested from him, "Remember, you are but as the dust under my feet." It is to this that Mr. Bright is understood to have referred in his great speech of June 24th of 1858.

The Nizam had to yield because the Resident was instructed to "contend for cession (of the Berars) to the utmost" !

The Nizam said to the Resident, Colonel (afterwards General) Low (30th April 1853) : " Did I ever make war upon the British Government or intrigue against it, or do anything but to co-operate with it, and be obedient to its wishes that I should be so treated ? Two acts on the part of a Sovereign Prince are always reckoned disgraceful ; one is to give away unnecessarily any portion of his hereditary territory and the other is to disband troops who have been brave and faithful in the service. You cannot understand my feelings. I have at least heard some great men of your tribe have been merchants. I am a Sovereign Prince born to live and die in this kingdom ; you think I would be happy if I were to give up the portion of the kingdom to your Government in perpetuity ? It is totally impossible that I would be happy. I should feel that I am disgraced. I have heard that one gentleman of your tribe considered that I ought to be quite contented and happy if I were put up on the same footing as Mahomed Ghori (Nawab of Carnatic and Arcot), to have a pension paid to me like an old servant and have nothing to do but to eat and sleep and say my prayer !"

After 66 years the issue is again raisd by the present Nizam as already alluded to. It is our earnest wish therefore that let not sentiments be unnecessarily hurt and Treaties and Engagements " tortured " under the fulcrum of ' fruit of policy '. It is not uncommon to notice even now how harshly Princes are at times treated out of all proportion to their supposed faults and how at every step they are made to feel their position of inferiority. It will be in the

interest of the British Government from the point of higher Imperialism to keep India contented. Let the Princes be not harshly and unsympathetically treated by those 'one eyed men' of the Political Department as Arnold spoke of the political economists. If in view of the world forces that are gravitating from the middle Europe to the very back-door of India it is necessary to placate the subjects in British India, it is equally necessary to raise the moral stature of the Indian Princes. Some officials individually, be it freely admitted, are extremely sympathetic, towards the Indian Princes. What is wanted is the Policy. We know England is the most powerful nation in the world. The Viceroy also said to the same effect on one occasion quite recently. It may not be of much significance now and may it so always remain, what once a great statesman said that "India disaffected is a palsy of England's right side: India in rebellion is a devouring ulcer in her flank". In the words of another great statesman it is still true that "with a happy, prosperous and loyal India. England can very safely bid defiance to the world. With Saxon thews and sinews in the West, and faithful Musalman and Sikh sabres in the East ready to be flung over the Indian Ocean. she would take European despotism in front and rear". Has not this been most beautifully verified in the recent titanic war? It is hardly necessary to pursue this point.

We have indicated sufficiently why some Princes are diffident and why they do not join the Conference. The main danger apprehended is that the "levelling

down" process will annihilate their position in course of time, and they do not know where they will be stranded.

Though such forebodings as have been indicated above may be amply justified, we believe that it would be most unwise not to accept the Proclamation, as that is the fundamental basis of the relations of the Princes and Chiefs with the British Government, in the very length and breadth of it, as true; as expressing that which ought to be, that which is England's policy towards India; as supplying a definite standard by which to measure the future acts of Governors-General and Ministers.

It has been well said, though men's words often transcend their acts, though the humiliating contrast between large promise and small preformance meets us on all sides at every step, yet it is no less true that words of grace and justice, once put forth, have a power as it were to draw up men's acts towards their own level.

Our providential contact with England makes the history of England our own. And it is the characteristic of English history that the national liberties of the English people have always developed themselves by taking men's words in earnest, at the full weight, from whatever lips they might proceed, by forcing those lips however false to keep them. How often was Magna Charta broken, how often confirmed before it came to be what it is now, the very corner stone of their social state, that for want of which we see Continental fabrics of free Government crumbling

away at a touch. Even so must it be with this our Sovereign's memorable Proclamation ; if the day should come again when Ministers or Governors-General or their subordinates, as powerful perhaps in smaller spheres, shall play fast and lose with Treaties, thrust of purpose forward the limits of Empire, and trample upon Indian States' rights. By that Proclamation must the acts of Government be judged ; to its standard must they be made to conform. They may violate every one of its promises, but every promise will survive its own violation and avenge it.

CHAPTER VII.

A Scheme for the Chamber of Princes.

Argument.

In the previous chapter we have dwelt at some length on the forebodings about the Chamber of Princes. It is necessary now to put forward a constructive scheme which will remove the defects of the Government scheme and make it acceptable to the Princes.

The remedies are simple and they are based on the psycho-analysis of human nature. This analysis points out that where a man deems himself aggrieved the two worst things possible are (a) an omission or refusal to enquire into his grievances, and (b) not to recognise them to the fullest extent when they are real.

To make this point clear, it is necessary to say that if it is true that the position of some Princes is improved under the present arrangements, it is equally true that the position of others is worsened. of course it may be unhesitatingly said, unwittingly.

It is too delicate a point to refer to the latter, and yet it has to be asked what is now the position of the Maratha Princes? In Central India and in Gujerat it has been that of a predominating nature. If the Raja of Sitamau can get up and say that his status is just as good as that of the Maharaja of Gwalior what must be the feeling of the latter? If

one of the Kathiawar Princes (Thakur of Limbdi) says that the position of the Gaekwar is not better than his own and he is encouraged into that attitude of mind by the Viceroy's utterance, with what faith can the Maratha Princes look into the future developments ?

Will there be any wonder if the Maharaja Scindia begins to realise his position under the changed conditions ? The Marathas have already begun to get uneasy. If they don't come forward to denounce the present arrangement they have confidence that Government will of their own accord realise the awkward situation into which they have been dragged.

From what a position of vantage the Maharaja Scindia has to descend when it is remembered that the very Maharaja's forebear Mahadaji Scindia had as a matter of fact held undisputed sway over the whole of India ! !

Did the Government contemplate such a development ? By spilling their blood and pouring their treasure the Marathas had won their position. When Government realises the condition to which the Maharaja of Gwalior feels he is reduced, they will no doubt stagger. Should such be the response and appreciation of Government for the Maharaja's unquestioned loyalty and whole-hearted support ?

To obviate the difficulty created by one man one vote or to say more correctly to nip the evil in

the bud arising from this arrangement, the following suggestions are made for the serious consideration of Government :—

1. The Conference of Princes may be allowed to continue for some years more to get more experience of its working and also to give more experience to the Princes and Chiefs for working together in co-operation with one another.

2. No attempt should at least for the present be made to codify the past practices.

3. No constitution for the Chamber of Princes need be given for the present.

4. The Conference of Princes may not be officialised but be allowed to evolve its own constitution under the guidance of Government.

5. That there may be adequate representation in the deliberations of the Conference, a system of voting may be introduced based on racial and historical traditions.

Reasons for the above suggestions are as follows :—

1. Continuance of the Conference in the present condition :—

The Princes have yet to gain experience of how to agree to differ. Their past traditions are of giving orders and seeing that they are carried out. They have

had little experience of working with their equals.

2. Codification of practices to be postponed :—

Practices have developed either on account of historical connection with the Government or on account of the idiosyncracies of Political officers accredited to the Courts of the Princes.

This will be best done by mutual consent of the Resident and the Prince, and by a generous interpretation of Treaties and Engagements by the former.

3. Postponement of the Constitution :—
This will permit greater latitudes to create precedents.

4. That the Conference may not be officialised :—

Officialism in course of time develops into despotism. Freedom and despotism can not stand long side by side. Freedom however peaceable is a standing warning against despotism ; despotism for its very life must be a perpetual threat against freedom.

5. Securing of adequate representation of various interests :—

For the present the conference is merely an advisory and consultative body. The final decision rests with the Viceroy. It is not possible to fix "proportional representation" as recommended by the Maharaja of Bikaner and approvingly accepted by the Viceroy. With what idea the words, "Proportional representation" are used it is not easy to understand. In Europe where the system is adopted especially in France, it is not found easy to work it. So many factors have to be taken into account that even in England it is not found easy to introduce this system. It is perhaps less difficult to interpret old Treaties in the light of later developments than to fix the proportion of different interests of a set of voters in co-ordination with the interests of other voters.

If the above suggestions are not acceptable to Government on account of the Proclamation, we take the liberty of offering the following scheme which will be more acceptable to Princes and will be in consonance with the principle of proportional representation on which Government want to base the proposed Chamber.

A Scheme.

Assuming that the words "proportional representation" are meant to give or provide adequate representation, it is quite possible to devise a scheme which will meet the requirements of the situation, provided the Indian States are divided on a broad historical basis and on racial, traditional and natural considerations. This, in other words, does not pay much attention in the first instance to area and population, constitutional links and existing status of the States. It will thus be found that all the States can be grouped into three classes, viz :—

1. The States constituting Paramount Powers in India preceding the advent of the British Government e. g., the Mahomedan and the Maratha States.

2. The Ancient Ruling Houses, viz., the Rajput States.

3. Other States which cannot be included in either of the first two. Though this class includes States which do not go into either of the above two classes, some of them have held their own and some of them are in their own way old. A few of them racially and historically stand by themselves and cannot be grouped in any other way than by territorial associations.

These States are :—

(i) Sikh and Jat States.

(ii) Eastern Indian States.

(iii) Southern Indian States.

(iv) Central Provinces States.

(v) Bihar and Orissa States.

The official scheme now recommended by the Viceroy in the Conference to all the Princes is not based on any 'proportional basis', but gives practically one vote to every individual member attending the Conference. It also takes no account of the States which cannot be represented in the Conference on account of the want of qualifying conditions giving the right to attend. When the Indian Princes are supposed to represent one third of the area of India, it is not right in their own interests to diminish the importance of their claim by excluding some States from representation at the Conference.

By the existing arrangment difficulties are created: one is that by giving one vote to every member of the Conference, importance of the bigger States is lost sight of, which is unfair to them. These are the direct Treaty States as well as Sovereign States whose interest at stake is greater than that of the minor States. It would be necessary therefore to make a distinction between a set of such States and others. If no attempt is made to make such a distinction, it is not difficult to imagine that the minor States are sure to swamp the bigger ones.

It will not therefore do to follow in the Chamber of Princes the system of voting prevalent in the Municipal administration where the voters are of

equal status and position, whereas the Princes voting in the Chamber are admittedly not of equal status and position.

The analogy of the House of Lords will not do because there the difference in titles and honours only connotes different grades of rank within a class which is homogenious and more or less of a united social and national status, while in India the Ruling Princes and Chiefs are of different races, different nationalities and different historical traditions and have distinct and recognised differences of status among themselves which go to split them into distinct and irreconcilable classes. It is unnecessary to dilate on a point like this which should be so obvious to every intelligent man.

To get over these difficulties, it may be proposed by some to take into consideration most of the important attributes of the States and fix the value of votes. Such an attempt, it may appear at the outset, will be more practical and scientific as it will be an attempt to make a nearer approach to the true consummation of the 'proportional system' of voting which alone takes into consideration the value of each vote. It may be argued that since the number of States is large and their historical connection with the British Government is of varying nature, it will be necessary to adopt a method like this by which various interests can be taken into account. It will soon be found, however, that when the said method is worked out, a fresh crop of difficulties will acrue. In some States the area is large but the

population is small and so is the revenue. If a uniform value to the unit of attributes of the State is attached, there will be a difficulty. Compare for instance the area of Jaisalmere with that of the States of Indore or Baroda ; then again compare the area of Bikaner with that of Baroda and think of the position of the former compared to that of the latter.

Any attempt at such a classification is bound to end in failure. Such an attempt therefore should be given up as unpractical. We have worked figures of several States and found the method unpractical.

It is proposed therefore first to divide the States according to their historical connection, as it is that which has brought in the which has brought in the distinction of Direct Treaty States and Sovereign States. Secondly where the States are smaller in number and scattered in a Province, but are of great importance, it is proposed to group them according to Provinces. By following this broad division it is possible ultimately to secure real proportional representation and do away with the danger of the smaller States swamping the bigger ones.

It is a recognised fact that before the advent of the British Government, there were two races which had a predominating political power and interest all over India, and these two races are the Mahomedans and the Marathas. It is proposed to make a class by themselves of the States of these two races.

Then there are the Rajput Houses of ancient lineage but having not much interest beyond the territories where most of them are situated. It is proposed to class all these States in a group by themselves. In order that all the Rajput States should have their interests represented, it is also proposed that all the Raiput States, wherever they may be situated should be brought into this group, and they may not be divided according to Provinces. Along with the Rajput States of Rajputana therefore, the Rajput States of Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa are classed in this group. In bringing these States together it has to be overlooked that the Rajput Princes of Rajputana do not treat the other Rajput as of themselves. If these Princes wish to keep up that distinction for reasons of their own, the other Rajput States can be easily separated *en bloc* and given a separate representation.

Now comes the third division in which are placed separately, (i) Sikhs and Jats, (ii) Eastern States, (iii) Southern States, (iv) Central Provinces States, and (v) Bihar and Orissa States.

The object of putting all the above classes in one group is more to secure the minority interests. Representation for the proposed groups will be as follows :—

Groups.		Votes.	Alternative scheme votes.
(i)	Sikhs and Jats	1	1
(ii)	Rajputs	1	8
(iii)	Marathas	1	3
(iv)	Mahomedans	1	4
(v)	South Indian States ...	1	2
(vi)	East Indian States ...	1	2
		6	20

One vote for each group will only bring the biggest Princes in the Chamber and the Government will have the advantage of securing the collective opinion of all the Princes and Chiefs. Thus no one group will be in a position to dominate the situation and this is a point worthy of taking note.

If the Government does not approve of restricting the number to so small a figure as six, the number may be raised to twenty. The alternative scheme has all the advantages of the collective vote system, and is efficient enough to remove all the disadvantages of the existing Government scheme. In addition it brings in individually if elected by the group all the prominent spokesmen or personalities of that group.

We may now give in brief the advantages accruing from the adoption of the proposed system :—

1. This system reduces the number of representatives in the Conference of Princes and does away with the necessity of having sub-committees as real working bodies.

2. It removes the necessity of enhancing the powers of some Princes, or increasing their salutes which measures are likely to cause unnecessary heart-burning. It may also be not easy for Government to satisfy individual aspirations raised by the Viceroy's recent speech.

3. This is likely to be the only system which affords a full opportunity for fully unfettered and informal deliberation of questions by Princes for themselves. It also does away with any possibility of racial clique or any particular interest dominating other and thus taking unfair advantage of the minority interest. It further gives scope for the full co-operation of Princes who otherwise may be reluctant to join any body of a constitutional form. Of this fuller explanation will be found later on in as much as beyond the preliminary stage they need not stand for or vote at the elections.

4. This scheme does away with the name of the 'Chamber of Princes' a name which has assumed such a contentious form. With such a small and well representative body the name, 'Chamber of Princes' may be changed into something else, as for example, "The Councillors of the Imperial Throne in India". As a matter of fact with such a small body as proposed, the name 'Chamber of Princes'

or ' Narendra Mandal ' is out of place and probably meaningless.

5, This scheme makes it possible to include in a general way all the so called 600 States provided of course none of them is a subordinate of another in a feudatory relation.

6. This scheme also makes it possible to do away with provincial informal Conferences which are as much beset with all the objections as in the case of the conference of Princes itself.

7. This scheme affords that necessary facility of freedom—an essential condition of the proper and full growth of the movement for voting. working etc.

8. This scheme affords means, if it is considered desirable to increase the number of this body to bring into it by the representative system not only the more important Sovereign and Direct Treaty Princes, but also representatives from the rest. All that has to be done is to roughly raise the number to three times what is proposed now. But any further enhancement of the number beyond this will defeat the very object of the scheme.

We may now explain how these divisions are made.

The interesting feature of this scheme is that an equitable balance has been maintained in the three main groups. When a careful examination is made of the representative character of these groups it will be perceived that these three classes practically stand equal to each other when compared by the

tests of area, population, revenue and above all by their constitutional existing position and relation with the British Government. This is a very important feature. and it was impossible to attain it under the old scheme.

It may now be necessary to give an idea of the salient features of this scheme.

It is deemed necessary to reduce the number of representatives as far as possible to ensure the election of the best members of the Order of Princes and at the same time to keep the body so small as would not necessitate the making of sub-committees. The main body itself should be in a position to look to the entire work of the Conference. As a tentative measure it is proposed that the number may be only six. It, as is already noted, may be increased to three or four times more to give a wider representation as contemplated by His Excellency the Viceroy under the Government scheme.

It may not be uninteresting to point out that in Lord Lytton's time it was proposed to have only twelve Princes which number was reduced to eight afterwards for the Imperial Privy Council. In reducing the number from twelve to eight, His Lordship wrote that he would not recommend a larger number without extending the honour to minor Chiefs of a rank too low for so high and honourable an office or to Chiefs not wholly fitted for the dignity of Councillors. What a difference is in the view now? The minimum fixed under the Government scheme admits all Princes having 9 gun salute and it is pro-

mised to extend this distinction of salute to those who do not possess it.

It cannot be said that Lord Lytton's arguments do not stand good even to this day. To allow all these Princes to vote in the Chamber on terms of equality, which does not exist, amounts to ignoring the divergence in the history and political status of the various States.

The object with which the Chamber is going to be established is simple—to inform the mind of the Viceroy with regard to the opinion of Princes on any subject either concerning themselves or concerning the Government of India or both. There is no object therefore in taking votes which have a determining effect. The final decision rests wholly with the Viceroy and it should be quite enough for his purpose to know what the opinion of Princes of different groups is.

Such a system will do away with the fears pointed out by some important Princes. There will be no swamping by the minor Princes—each group will be represented by their own nominated spokesman.

It may now be advisable to indicate how each group should carry out its work. It is however not necessary for the present to offer suggestions as to how the work of the Conference may be couducted, the reason being that each body should think out its own procedure. We may however set out in brief how it is proposed to work the group of the Marathas.

The underlying principles of working will be that this group will carry out its work independently, that is, without official guidance: that it will fix its own centre of work and that it will have a paid ministerial establishment. It may be suggested that the central office be fixed at Bombay and its meetings held either at Bombay or at the capital of members of the body at fixed intervals. If the secretary is a Prince, he will be nominated for not more than three years and the ministerial establishment will be permanent to keep up the continuity of work. To secure adequate representation, membership will ordinarily be divided into three classes with number of votes varying in proportion to the importance of the States. The divisions will be as follows :—

1. Direct Treaty States.
2. Non-direct Treaty States.
3. Petty Chiefships.

Direct Treaty States will get three votes each and Non-direct Treaty States will get one vote each. Petty Chiefs should send one representative who will have one vote.

We may now deal with the duties of this body which may be as follows :—

1. To consider Agenda for the Chamber of Princes.
2. To suggest points for the Agenda of the Chamber of Princes.

3. To advise and make suggestions to Government on all matters pertaining to the States of the group or on points required by Government.

It may not be uninteresting to point out that by following the proposed new scheme, the position of the more important States is kept up without excluding representation to any states as was the case in the former scheme. This will be more clearly seen when the figures of votes are given for the Maratha group. They are as follows:—

21 for Direct Treaty States at the rate of 3 votes for each.

17 for Non-direct Treaty States, one for each.

1 for Petty Chiefships.

making in all 39 votes. In this scheme there is no provision for the political officers attending the meeting to vote. It may be argued that by allowing votes to the Political officers attending the meeting a fresh safe-guard will be created on the assumption, though such an assumption is out of place, that the bigger States may wish to dominate the minor States which have 18 votes. the presence of 6 neutral votes of Political officers will act as a suitable counterpoise. There will be in that case 21 votes of Direct Treaty States as against 24 of other States. Again in some the bigger Princes don't attend the group meetings, the votes of the Political officers will guard their interests.

It is hardly necessary to make such an assumption as of domination and make a provision. This is again not such a provision as is not capable of being outweighed by disadvantages of equally grave character.

The group system is based on the Panchayat system bred in ancient times as the result of the genius of the Hindus for self-Government. Its two features are that the members should be known to one another as in the co-operative society and their interest should be identical and their proceedings may not be influenced except by the members themselves. When the Political officers are admitted as voting members they lose the character of being neutral members. The main object of their presence is that they may be able to guide the proceedings by helping the members to come to a satisfactory conclusion by supplying necessary information to the Princes and Chiefs, which it may not be easy for them to possess; and that the Government will also be able to know what the Princes and Chiefs are doing in their meetings. This latter may not be a great advantage to Government but it may be secured by allowing the Political officers to be present at these meetings. Even this presence of Political officers might be construed as opposed to the policy of Government who do not intend to treat the Princes and Chiefs with want of confidence. They have been taken out of the 'Ring fence' once for all and full confidence in their good faith is a necessary corollary of such an action on the part of Government. The Princes and Chiefs may be considered

to have reached the stage of adolescence and they should therefore be allowed to settle their differences among themselves instead of making it possible to settle them by a mechanical process of neutral votes. Again such a settlement would not of course give that weight to the majority opinion which it would otherwise have when the majority is of their own class.

If such a condition of freedom can be secured in the working of the Chamber also nothing better can be desired. But of this later on.

It will be easily perceived that the general features pointed out as the main characteristics of the scheme will equally be worked out in actual practice, and this feature of equitable and equal representation should alone be a guarantee for the acceptance of the scheme by all right thinking men, who have the good of the Conference at heart and who wish it an enduring life.

We have said it is necessary that in the working of the group system of representation there should be freedom allowed to the Ruling Princes and Chiefs. Freedom is an essential condition for progress.

Cannot the same freedom be allowed in the working of the Chamber ? No definite opinion can be offered at this stage. It may not be easy for the Princes and Chiefs themselves, at least for some time to come, to meet and conduct their work in a business like manner. In course of time when they learn to sink their differences and appreciate the advantages of the Chamber and when they find that there

is no scope for individual domination, but their destiny is driving them to work in union in their own interest and in the interest of the British Empire, Government will deem fit to allow the Princes to work with the same freedom as under the group system. To this goal all the efforts should be directed as befitting the position of the Princes as the Allies of the Crown and especially when the Indian Princes and Chiefs were taken out of the 'Ring Fence' and allowed to be representated at the Peace Conference at the Versailles Palace.

If the British Indian subjects are—going to be given responsible Government on progressive lines, and when Mr. Sinha could be raised to the dignified position of a Lord and taken his seat in the House of Lords as of right, surely it cannot be too much for the Princes and Chiefs to aspire to greater independence in their co-operation with the Brititish Government.

To summarise :—

It will be observed that the scheme now proposed of the group system will remove most of the difficulties which are engendered by the Government scheme.

The scheme removes the fear felt by the more important Princes that larger number of smaller Princes and Chiefs will swamp them, and at the same time secures representation to those of whom they are afraid on account of their superior number.

It gives a predominating position to the more important Princes which is their due and thus they will be able to secure their higher interests without at the same time being able to dominate the other Princes and Chiefs.

It will also be perceived that there will be no scope for domination by one group over the others as is happening to-day. There will be no need for Government to enhance salutes and powers of certain Princes and Chiefs to entitle them to sit in the Chamber. Under our proposed scheme every prince whatever may be his status finds full play to express his opinion before brother Princes off his group. Further there is no objection under this scheme to invite as many Princes as possible to Delhi with a view that they may meet one another to renew their acquaintances or to form new ones. They can personally be present at the discussions and also can have their own group meeting in Delhi during the session of the Chamber and thus they can support their nominee by their personal advice on the spot. In other words they will be there but will have no actual voice individually in the Chamber, and the vote will be therefore the collective vote of the group.

It just occurs to us that the formation of the Chamber on such a group system will ultimately have the effect of removing racial, historical and traditional distinctions, and of bringing the princes much closer together as there will be no scope for the princes of numerically stronger group to combine

to swamp smaller groups, important though the Princes of the latter groups may be. This agreeable result will be as inevitable as the evil of cleavage that will surely be produced by removing the distinction among the Princes and Chiefs and making their votes of equal value. These apparently paradoxical results are, be it noted, a natural sequence of the working of forces of human nature. It is for this reason that no scheme dealing with human affairs should be formulated without taking into consideration a psycho-analysis of human mind. To make this point more clear, it may not be amiss to say that human nature is prone to take advantage of the opportunities offered for self-aggrandisement. Viewed in this light of experience, what wonder is there that a large number of smaller Princes tried their best to combine to swamp the minor number though it may be of important Princes. Similarly, when the opportunity for combination is removed and each group is given one vote, the force of circumstances will bring the spokesmen of different groups closer, in order that they may be able to attain their object. Common grievance or common interest creates sympathy among men similarly situated and make them work conjointly for a common object.

Government wish the Princes to work together. Their object then can be best achieved by dividing the Princes into groups as proposed.

In case Government find it difficult to accept such a small number as of six, but find it necessary to have most of the leading Princes in the Chamber.

it may be possible to raise the total numper of votes to 20 which is about one-fifth of the number under the Government scheme. (There are now we believe 53 Princes with 13 guns and over 30 Princes with 11 gun salute, and there may be about thirty more Princes to be admitted under the Viceroy's scheme making in all 110 Princes who will come into the Chamber in their own individual right).

May our proposal commend itself to all concerned is our earnest prayer! We have faith in the righteousness of our cause and in the traditional love of Englishmen for fairness and justice.

May God come to England's and our assistance.

LEAVE TAKING.

Our task is finished—the task self-imposed, out of pure love for the States and their Princes, and undertaken also in return, to however a small degree of gratitude, for the immense benefits derived from them over a quarter of a century. It has this merit in its favour, that it contains the out-pourings of the heart of an Indian who owes the States all the pleasures and happiness of his life, in fact every thing that is sacred and dear to him, and who, having worked for over twenty five years in an important State as an Executive Officer and come in contact with several States and their officers, is expected to know the good and bad points of the Princes as also what is good for them.

The attempt is primarily meant to give some of the Indian Princes a bearing as to their real position which may help them to steer clear through the eddies of their political situation and to make their demands for the improvement of their status to the Imperial Government. It will also indicate that the Princes will have a long and arduous struggle before them, ere they can hope to reach the haven of rest in a political freedom from the "leading strings", and secure scope in the material and moral development of their States. It will also show the Princes the dire necessity of urging their claims in a united front, as all of them, from the Premier Princes to the lowest of their Order are suffering from the same disabilities of an Alliance, which though perhaps necessary in the initial stage of the consolidation of the Indian Empire, is now unnecessary and obsolete

in the light of the modern thought of "productivism" which demands that administration shall follow the current of the age, and that it shall constantly renew its life and shall seek for its organisation those improvements and those stimulants which are appropriate to its social mission. This attempt will thus demonstrate to the Princes that their demand for reforms is not a matter of choice for them, but is a necessity more on the ground of principle than that of expediency. The great political philosopher Edmund Burk has said "A State is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature, but a partnership in all sciences, in all arts, in all virtue and in all perfection." We therefore trust, that the Princes will rise equal to the situation without fighting shy of it, and not forget that theirs is the partnership not only with those who have gone before them and those who are with them, but also with those who are yet to come.

Appendix.

APPENDIX.

SCHEME OF ADMINISTRATION.

No. 1

GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

1. Economy of time.
2. Method.
3. Division of work.

HIS HIGHNESS.

Reign.

- Occasional audience.
- Secretary or Huzur Kamadar.
  Daily submission of important current work.
- Diwan or Chief Minister.
  Weekly or bi-weekly audience.

Rule.

(1) Occasional summoning of an officer above a certain rank.
(2) Tours.
(3) Reception of report of Heads of all Departments in person.

- (1) Revenue.
  (2) Finance and Accounts.
  (3) Abkari.
- (1) Judicial.
  (2) Police.
  (3) Legal Remembrancer.
- Development Department.
  Agriculture.
  Forestry.
  Co operative Societies.
  Irrigation.
  Bank and Banking Institutions.
- P. W. D.
  Govt. works. Major works.
  Local and Govt. works.
  Railways.
  Transport facilities.
- Political.
- Military and Khangi Departments.

Audience.

Officers.	Non-Officials.
(a) Periodical visits. (b) Also visits of Officers who come on a visit to the Capital either on Government or private business.	Men of note engaged in trade, commerce and industries Professions : Military Caste men working in the Raj or outside the Raj.

Visits on ceremonial occasions.

Dasehra.	Diwali.	Accession day.	Birth day.
Men of Military profession, Thakors, Ankadedars, etc., etc.	Trade, Commerce, Industries.	A few men of all classes, best of each class.	Professionals. Lawyers. Educationists.

N. B.—Naib Diwan in charge of Departments may be kept present during the reception of reports.

No. 3

DIWAN OR CHIEF MINISTER (NOT CHIEF SECRETARY PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

1. Non-observance of caste bias.
2. Appreciation of merit in subordinates.
3. Swift approbation and punishment.
4. Steady attempt to raise the State Morally, Materially and Socially.

FUNCTIONS.

Smoothing Branch.	Thinking Branch.	Development Branch.	Political Branch.
Periodical reports of retrospection on the working of each department in co-ordination with other departments.	Problems on hand for consideration in co-ordination with different departments.	Progress of various industries in existence and attempts made to introduce new ones.	Change in the policy by British Government and its effect on the well-being of the State. Study of old pending cases and study of progress made in other Indian States. Occasional friendly visits to other States for first hand information.
N. B.—He should see every thing is running smoothly and keep His Highness informed during his audience.	Progress made should be brought to His Highness's notice from time to time.	His Highness should be kept informed.	His Highness should be kept informed.

HEADS OF DEPARTMENT.

Guiding Principle.	
1. Strict observance of distinction betwee executive and administrative work.	Mostly Administrative and not at all Executive.
2. Proper respect to be accorded to Executive heads of districts and their subordinates.	
3. Punctuality and method in carrying out work.	Complete control on the working of the Department the whole subordinate staff.

Functions.

Periodical reports of retrospection. Submitted to Diwan Saheb personally.	Steps taken to meet the recommend ations of their subordinates.	New facilities provided other than those recommended by their subordinate officers.	Problems on hand. Progress made.	Inspection of subordinate offices. Original work taken up only when on tours of inspection.	Disposal of appeals.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

He should be made the real executive head of the District and people should look up to him :

He should have complete control on his subordinate staff.

He should be the real head of Police but not of Magistrates.

EXECUTIVE HEAD OF THE DISTRICT.

FUNCTIONS.

- Revenue collection properly and punctually made.
- Progress of village Panchayats.
- Taluka Panchayats. District Board is sympathetically fostered.
- Increase in irrigation facilities is steadily pushed.
- Improvement in Economic condition of people is steadily kept in view.
- Trend of public opinion is carefully studied.
- Condition of General Service is carefully watched.
- Difficulties experienced in the discharge of his duties are timely brought to notice of Government.

EXECUTIVE EFFICIENCY.

- Reduction in unnecessary work made.
- Qualified and sufficient establishment maintained.
- Correction or liberal interpretation of rules suggested.
- Modification of rules under changed times suggested.
- System of timely and methodical work enforced.
- Change in procedure to save time is suggested.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

Each unit of the administrative machinery from the village Panchayat upwards should be allowed to work freely and fully.

No control should be exercised from within but from without.

General Abstract of the scheme of administration.

(1) His Highness may learn in audience how the work is going on and lay down policies for the good conduct of administration for the good of the public. He is not to be the President of Council but the final just Authority.

(2) Diwan should co-ordinate the work of all Heads of Departments. Directly he should only be in charge of the Political Department.

(3) Naib-Diwan should be in charge of various Departments.

(4) Sar Suba should be the administrative head of the Revenue Department proper.

(5) Suba should co-ordinate the work of all his subordinates and be the real Executive Head of a District.

(6) Naib Suba should verify the work of the Vahivatdar by inspection and in appeal and be the real Head of his sub-division.

(7) Vahivatdar should verify and pass orders on the work of the Village Panchayats and be the real Head of his Taluka.

(8) Work should begin with the Village Panchayat pertaining to the people living in that village.

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS.

(*a*) To inquire into all applications of men living in villages and to give opinions in some. orders in other matters within their powers.

(*b*) Giving copies of documents and receiving documents for transmission.

N, B.—Vahivatdar means Mamaledar or Tehsildar.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line.				
4	31	For	'is'	Read	'it'
14	30	,,	'benefitted'	,,	'benefited'
16	3	,,	'si'	,,	'is'
17	27	,,	'Governmen'	,,	'Government'
25	2	,,	'mo:e'	,,	'more'
,,	9	,,	'anomolous'	,,	'anomalous'
26	28	,,	'invaribly'	,,	'invariably
,,	29	,,	't'		'to'
36	18	,,	'?'		'.'
,,	24	,,	'bureacracy'	,,	'bureaucracy'
39	31	,,	'thing'	,,	'things'
63	16	,,	'somtimes'	,,	'sometimes'
67	22	,,	'quiet'	,,	'quite'
68	26	,,	'soould'	,,	'should'
76	13	,,	'methods'	,,	'method'
77	16	,,	'contenment'	,,	'contentment'
,,	20	,,	'heirarchy'	,,	'hierarchy'
85	22	,,	'Verculian'	,,	'Herculean'
96	15	,,	'previleges'	,,	'privileges'
97	4	,,	'?'	,,	'.'
100	15	,,	'Is'	,,	'is'
,,	,,		'.'		','
105	3	after	'more'	add	'to more'
,,	20	for	'governence'	read	'government'
108	16	,,	'knowlege'	,,	'knowledge'
109	11	,,	'way'	,,	'why'
,,	32	,,	'qy'	,,	'by'
111	16	,,	'subiects'	,,	'subjects'

Page	Line.				
118	20	for	'conspicuous-ness'	read	'consciousness
152	32	,,	'questio'	,,	'questions'
157	26	,,	'cessation'	,,	'cession'
,,	30	,,	,,	,,	,,
161	16	,,	'.'	,,	'?'
162	21	,,	'features'	,,	'feature'
180	15	drop	'the which has brought in'		
181	7	for	'Raiput'	read	'Rajput'
,,	15	,,	'Rajput'	,,	'Rajputs'
183	16	,,	'other'	,,	'over'
184	15	after	'body'	insert	','
,,	30	for	'each'	read	'one'
,,	,,		'other'		'another'
185	31	,,	'gun'	,,	'guns'
191	15	,,	'taken'	,,	'take'
,,	18	,,	'Brititish'	,,	'British'
,,	26	after	'that'	insert	'the'
192	13	for	'off'	read	'of'